MARY
QUEEN OF SCOTS
AND
WHO WROTE THE CASKET LETTERS?

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JAN 61

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MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

Mary Stuart.

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MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

AND

WHO WROTE THE CASKET LETTERS?

BY

SAMUEL COWAN, J.P.

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A LETTER of some importance was written by Sir Francis Knollys to Elizabeth, respecting Mary's future treatment, which shows that there was, as usual, great hesitation in the mind of the English queen on the subject; also that Knollys was quite friendly to Mary, and willing to be generous if Elizabeth would allow him. But the point of the letter is that Elizabeth had stated to the Bishop of Ross that Mary and her son should reign jointly, with Moray as prime minister. There is no reason to doubt the

accuracy of this, as the bishop was a man whose integrity cannot be challenged. Knollys reminded Elizabeth of her proposal, which was admirable, had it been carried out; but she evidently changed her mind on the receipt of Knollys' letter, as we hear no more about it. The letter, which was originally published by Haynes from the Burleigh Collection, is as follows :—

Vice-Chamberlain Knollys to Queen Elizabeth.

Since my last dispatch to Mr. Secretarie yesterday, this queene kept her chamber all day perusing her letters, and conferring with Lord Boyd and Raulet, who came from the Cardinal of Loraine hither; and with Bortyk that brought her letters. And at night whan she came foorth, as I told your majesty before, she wold make her profit by holdyng off, as long as doing would serve her turne. She hathe gathered by some observations of your Majesty to the Bishop of Ross, that you will deal more favourably with her, than by our perswasions. And she says that your majesty plainly said to the Bishop of Ross, not only that you wold have her a quene still, but that Lord Moray shold take the execution of the Government at the hands of her and of her son jointly; the which, she says, is better for me than your perswasions. If your majestie have said so it is too late to call it back again. But she looks for more favor than this comes to, she will bide all extremities rather than look back from the hope that is once given her. And this you may be sure off, until you have sent away the bishop in such

despair, that either this quene must be content with such resolution as you shall give him, or else your majestie will proced against her and forcibly maintain Moray's Government, you shall never bring her to a resolute frame of mind; for she hath courage enough to hold owt as long as any ray of hope may be left; and until she shall see an order and comand for her removyng, she will stick the faster in the hope of your clemency. Now, as your majesty's judgment must needs be ruled by such affections and passions of your mind, as happen to have dominion over you; so the resolutions digested by the deliberate consultations of your faithful counsellors oughte ever to be had in respect, in these weighty affairs. This quene semes to think that your majesty is moved to deal the more favorably with her, by reason of a general answer that she sent by her commissyoners, abowt the same time that the Bishop of Ross lately, upon Christmas Eve, came unto your majestie. The which answer she sent, rather to appear that she cowld answer, than of any intent she hath or ever had to answer effectually. Now surely, neither Lord Scroope nor I have any private quarrel or offence with this quene; so that we will not disapprove of any favor that your majesty with your faithful counsellors shall allow. But I suppose it were better policy for you to disclose your favour to us, before you do so to the Bishop of Ross; for he will convert all that he hears or can gather by presumptions to harden this quene to hold off, for the better making of her bargain with you. This day whan she told us of this general answer given to you lately, as some grownd and cawse of your favor towards

her, although yesternyght we stood to our former perswasions because we were so directed; yet to-day we were fain to say that, as we meant uprightly by our perswasions, it might turn owt better for her than we had expected, we wold be very glad that we had so erred; neverthelesse we desired her to take heed that she beguiled not herself by wrong constructions. How ever it happens, I see that it was easier to persuade her to yeld before the Bishop of Ross's letters came hither, than after. Our persecutors are contemptible if they be not backed up and maintained at your majestie's cowrt. And to be plaine, it semes that this quene is halff perswaded that God hath given you such reasonable affections, that you will not openly disgrace her, nor forcibly maintain Lord Moray against her, notwithstanding she refuses to yield to your majesty's orders.

From Bolton, the 1st of January, 1569.

F. Knollys.

Orders were given that Mary was to be removed to Tutbury, and Lord Herries was sent to Elizabeth to stop this order; but in vain. The able and zealous championship of Mary by that nobleman called forth very general admiration. He had a long interview with Elizabeth on the 7th of January, and was accompanied by the Bishop of Ross and Gavin Hamilton, abbot of Kilwinning. At this interview Moray and his companions were again accused of the murder of Darnley, but only a brief epitome of it has

come down to us. In eloquent terms he denounced Tutbury as a residence for Mary, and reminded Elizabeth of the promises she had made, on the faith of which Mary went into England. "Could she have imagined that she would have been treated thus, she would have preferred the hardest fortune that could have befallen her in Scotland." And in regard to the question between Mary and her subjects :—

"I do not see how your majesty can take upon yourself to be judge, seeing that she is as much a sovereign as yourself, and inferior to you in nothing but those misfortunes which have rendered her your suppliant. The Earls of Moray and Morton are the two who have been the principal offenders against the queen, and if your majesty desires information from them, let them take the trouble to come hither themselves."

To this Elizabeth calmly agreed, and allowed Herries to proceed. On the subject of Darnley's murder he informed her that the principal authors were those who now attempted to charge the burden of their guilt on the queen, their mistress.

"After the assassination of the king, the murder of her servants, the cruel attempts on her sacred person, after the sufferings she has endured, shall traitors be heard against their liege lady, the guilty against the innocent, criminals against their judge? I have not words to

describe their wickedness, but I am prepared to come to deeds, and to verify the innocence of my queen by irreproachable testimony, and papers written and subscribed by the hands of her accusers. If that shall not suffice, I offer myself, with the permission of your majesty, to a combat in her behalf, hand to hand, against the boldest and most determined of her pursuers."

These eloquent and brave words made no impression on the stony heart of the English queen. She had made up her mind that under no circumstances was Mary to be released from captivity. Herries remonstrated with her for not allowing Mary an interview, for not allowing her to pass into France, and he insisted on her innocence of the charges made against her. He denied that Elizabeth could refuse her liberty. He informed her that Mary had at Hamilton revoked the deed of abdication in presence of the Barons and Estates, and that these would oppose anything prejudicial to the queen's interest. Elizabeth informed him that she was told that all would support the regency of Moray; to which Herries said, "I would be glad to see or hear the men who would venture to say so." At the conclusion of this interview Herries was told that he must remain in London during Elizabeth's pleasure, to which he promptly

objected. This rejoinder of Elizabeth might mean imprisonment to Herries for speaking so plainly as he did, but the time was past for speaking to such a woman with bated breath, and Herries's independent attitude dared her to touch him. We learn that the state of the finances at Bolton Castle had become desperate at this period. Knollys wrote Cecil, "Neither money nor credit left them. Their clerk must run away as ashamed to show his face."[1]

Letter of the Queen of Scots, which was intercepted and sent to Moray about the 18th of January, 1569.

As to the state of my affairs, I doubt not but ye understand, that, at the convention in York, my rebels were confounded in all that they culd allege for colouring of their insurrection and my imprisonment. Perseving which they did dissemble by moving some of the quein of England's ministeris, that notwithstanding her promeis she would let them have her presence; and to colour their cuming towards her, said she would herself understand the continuation of this conference, to the effect the same shuld be more promptly ended with some happy result to my honor and contentment; and therefore desired that some of my commissioners should pass towards her incontinent. But on her showing, it was not the report she pointed at; for my matter has been prolonged. In the mean time my Rebels negotiated secretly with her and his

[1] State Paper Office.

ministers. They have consented, that my son should be delivered to her to be nourished in this cuntry as she shall think best. *Item.* Declaring him to be as able to succeid after her death, in case she have no succession of her body. For her surety the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling shall be in the Englishmenis keping on the said Queen of England's authority. *Item.* With her authority and the concurrence of Moray the castle of Dumbarton shall be surrendered to the Quene of Englands behoof and keping. Provided theis promises be kept, she hes promised to support and maintain Moray in the usurpation of my authority, and cause him to be declared legally to succeed unto the crown of Scotland eftir the decease of my sone, in case my son die without issue. In which case Moray shall acknowledge to hold the Realm of Scotland under the Queen of England. Thus the equity of my cause, the cognisance of which I trusted to the Quene of England, has bene renounced, and shall be the ruin of my realm, except God and my faithful subjects remain the same. Yet this is not all, there is a contest between the Erl of Moray and the Earl of Hartford as to who should marry one of Secretary Cecil's daughters. Moray and Hartford should meet and fortify each other in the succession, that each of tham pretends on his own side, that is to say the Erle of Moray on the side of my realm, by reason of the said legitimation ; and the Erle of Hartford on the side of England, because of Dame Katherine, on whom he begat twa bairns. They will be both bent on my son's death ; who being out of my subjects hands, what can I hope for but a lamentable tragedy ? Their plans are concluded among the cheif of my rebels, and the anciant

and natural ennemies of my realm ; and nothing remains now, but the authority to establish and assure Moray in his usurpation. To begin the same, they wuld have perswaded me to be crafty, to have liberally demitted my crown, and consented to the Regency of Moray ; and to have caused me to condescend to such an unhappy thing, there hes been used all manner of craft and boasting that hes bene possible, with fair promisis. But seing I was resolved to do nothing to their profeit, the Quen of England named new commissionaris with them that were already deputed ; and not permitting me to go there to declare my awn reasons, and the conference being brokin up [[1]] that the Queen of England has broken her promise, which was not to permit Moray to cume into her presense, until the conference was ended, moreover there should be nothing done to the prejudice of my honor, estate and rights that I may have in this cuntry after her : my commissioners left the conference the sixth day of this month, with solemn protestationis, that all which was done therein to my prejudeice is null and void, and they are determined to come away as soon as possible ; whereof I thought right to advise you, so thus ye may understand the verity of the matter, and inform our freindis of the same. I pray you to assemble our freindis my subjectis. I have written to Argyll and Huntly to hasten to your relief, doing all the hinder that ye may to the said rebels, to stop their returning home if it be possible ; they will be ready before you, if ye make not haste. Ye being assembled in convention, not fearing that I shall stop or discharge your proceedings, as I

[1] Words awanting.

did last time, ye shall declare and show publickly by open proclamation the aforesaid conspiracy and treason, which the rebel, have conspired against the weil of the realme, intending to put the same in execution to the destruction thereof, if they be not stoppit. Therefore you, with my whole faithful subjectis, will do diligence to stop the performance of their intentions. This understood, I am assured, that at the spring of the yeir ye shall have sufficient releif from other freinds—Proclaim and hold a parliament as you desire.

(The queen in her excited state and her letters under supervision has evidently omitted to sign this paper.)

On the 26th of January Mary and her household were escorted from Bolton Castle to Tutbury. Mary was against the removal, but Elizabeth had ordered it, and would listen to no remonstrance. Mary, who was not in good health, was accompanied by her devoted friend Lady Livingstone, also indisposed; and both were conveyed in a litter while the others were on horseback. The escort was under the charge of Sir Francis Knollys, and, although he lost his wife two days before, Elizabeth would not permit him to remain and bury her, but peremptorily ordered him to take his charge to Tutbury. On the road a beggar sought an interview with the queen, and this turned out to be a servant in disguise from the

Earl of Northumberland, of the name of Hamilton, with a private message to Mary. It aroused no suspicion, and passed off unobserved. Mary sent the earl by the servant a beautiful gold enamelled ring as a present. She arrived at Tutbury (three miles from Burton-on-Trent) on the 3rd of February, where she was received by her new keepers, the Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury, proprietors of this castle. The earl was the fourth husband of this lady. The countess is described as a woman of masculine understanding and conduct, proud, jealous, selfish, and unfeeling. Tutbury was almost destitute of furniture, and Elizabeth sent a few things from the royal wardrobe in the Tower for Queen Mary's accommodation. It was a very poor supply. An accident of an unusual character occurred on the journey. Lady Scrope expected her *accouchement*, and, notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, she was prohibited by a peremptory message from Elizabeth, in terms too coarse for repetition, from lying-in at her lord's castle. Lord Scrope, in the circumstances, provided accommodation for her at a house two miles distant.

The Bishop of Ross and Lord Herries returned from London on the 7th of February, and gave Mary a record of the conferences which had been

held at York and Westminster, and which contained a transcript of the principal documents produced on her behalf. As to purchasing her liberty by her abdication, which had been debated with Elizabeth, she was highly displeased, and told Lesley never to mention the subject again. She wrote Elizabeth not to permit any more such overtures to be placed before her, as she had made a solemn vow to God "never to resign that place to which He had called her."

The following is an unpublished letter from Mary to Sir William Cecil, and is important as showing that false letters in duplicate respecting the queen were being sent to Cecil. It also indicates her condition at Tutbury, and a very reasonable request for Cecil's intervention :—

Tutbury, February 11, 1569.

Sir Cecil,—I have believed the good account which my messengers have given me of your honest bearing towards me more willingly than I have done the information which has been given me to the contrary, and following the request which has been made me to tell you the names of the principal authors of certain duplicate letters which have been conveyed to you and caused you offence, I should wish you enlightened, only that I fear to do harm to some particular individuals, but if I could have spoken with you, I do not doubt that you would have been satisfied. Meanwhile I shall tell you once

more what I have already written you, that all I have heard has come from Scotland, and not from elsewhere; and concerning your duplicate which has been shown me, I have never seen it before or the proclamations. I have not delivered the form, and do not yet know the same. The Bishop of Ross has told me that you will crush these things under your heel, which I beg you to do, and to believe that I shall do the same on my side, and under this assurance will you continue your good-will towards me, as I have always promised myself you would. My messengers have told me that the queen, my good sister, had said to them that she intended that I should have the same liberty and treatment in this place as I had at Bolton. I was to have thirty persons, and some to go and come freely on my business, which permission the Earl of Shrewsbury seems to think necessary to retract, and I shall not be permitted to send either this last to France for my needs, or to my kingdom or to receive letters from my people without the express order of my good sister, in which much time will be spent, and very often the chance of providing for my most urgent and imperative business lost. For this cause I beg you to see that orders are given to the Earl of Shrewsbury to give passports to my people, as Mr. Knollys has done hitherto, and similarly to Lord Scrope that he may continue as he has done up till now. Also the Earl of Shrewsbury has declared to me that he cannot allow my messengers to be more than one hour with me on their way, without the express order of my good sister, and, by what means he has been able, has insulted them when remaining near me for dictation of letters.

I should like to keep with me the Bishop of Ross and Lord Boyd. Whereupon I beg you to make the earl understand the instruction of my good sister, and that, besides the aforesaid thirty persons, he may command them to be put some little distance away in this castle, and to each two servants only, for I cannot find any accommodation in the village. That porter, Borthwick, will tell you also what concerns his easy situation of groom, to which I beg you as well to pay attention. And I shall pray God to have you, Sir Cecil, in his keeping. Written at Tutbury, the 11th of February, 1569.

Your very good friend,

MARY R.

The following is a letter from Queen Elizabeth to the Earl of Shrewsbury, respecting the return and maintenance of the Queen of Scots and her household. This letter, February 21, 1569, is a reply to Mary's letter to Cecil of the 11th of February :—

"We perceive by our vice-chamberlain how careful and circumspect you are in the charge which we have committed to you, wherein we find our expectation thoroughly satisfied; and, being informed by him of sundry matters, wherein you require further instructions, we have commanded our secretary to advise you thereof.

"First, when the Queen of Scots desires to have liberty for sending as well into Scotland as to and fro, you shall let her understand that we mean she should

have the like liberty there as at Bolton, giving you knowledge at any time when she will send any other to Scotland or hither to us. And so, having your warrant signed and sealed by you, the same shall be sufficient for that time. And if any shall come out of Scotland unto her, upon knowledge given to any of our wardens, orders shall be given to suffer them to pass.

"When it is required to know what number should be allowed for diet, we, having seen a schedule subscribed by you, perceive that the ordinary number heretofore was about thirty; and that it is proposed to increase the number for the private accommodation of particular persons, we have thought it good to advise you that there be no more allowed besides her women which she hath already, but thirty persons only, which number was agreed to by Lord Herries, and by him, in the queen's name, thought sufficient. If any shall want to increase that number you shall affirm that you have no authority to do so. Neither will you trouble us or any of our council, knowing that it hath been so determined.

"And if the Queen of Scots will have the Bishop of Ross, the Lord Boyd, or any other not included in the aforesaid number of thirty, you may, as of yourself, deal with the said parties, and declare unto them that, so as they be of the number of thirty, and as many of the others be discharged for them, you will be willing that they be received into the charge of the household. Otherwise, you may with good and gentle speech require them to be content that the first order may stand. And let them plainly understand that it was the motion first from the queen by Lord Herries that we would be

content to omit two to have only the number of thirty persons in all, and not more.

"And as for the Bishop of Ross and Lord Boyd having them about that queen, we can be content therewith, so as they do not go or send into the country to confer or practise with any persons, as, if it be not looked into, it is most likely they will. And therefore, as of yourself, you may privately require them that they will forbear to do so with any persons in any causes that may offend us.

"We think it good that you do retain the same clerk which served under our vice-chamberlain, and so to direct him that the charge weekly exceed not forty-five pounds, which we are contented to allow."

This hitherto unpublished letter grants Shrewsbury permission to allow the Queen of Scots to send and receive letters, but it is interesting as showing the arbitrary will of the English queen to restrict the number of Mary's household. Thirty persons, including the queen, were to be boarded by Shrewsbury for £45 per week, or £1 10*s*. each on an average. No guests were to be allowed, and, if guests did appear, some of the household were to retire and feed themselves in the place of the guests, so that the number was always kept to thirty. But where those who retired were to be fed Elizabeth did not condescend to say. This is a characteristic letter,

perfectly intelligible, and one that Shrewsbury could not disregard. This nobleman was friendly and considerate to Mary, and treated her always with great respect. It is evident from this letter that, if she had guests, they were kept at Shrewsbury's expense.

On February 26th Nicholas White, one of Cecil's subordinates, visited Mary, and was introduced by Shrewsbury. They had a long and friendly interview, in which the queen entered into all her troubles, expressing her dissatisfaction with Elizabeth's treatment. White, as might be expected, supported the policy of Elizabeth. He wrote Cecil :—

"The Queen of Scots has an alluring grace, a pretty Scotch speech, and a searching wit clouded with mildness. She has ten women and fifty persons in her household, also ten horses. It is one of the clock every night ere she goes to bed. She informed me, in reply to my question how she spent her time, that all day she wrought with the needle, and that the diversity of the colours made the work seem less tedious."

She discussed with him carving, painting, and needlework, giving preference to painting.

In April Elizabeth ordered him to remove Mary to Wingfield Manor House, where she remained five months. It is alleged, but without authority,

that Elizabeth believed Shrewsbury had fallen in love with the Scottish queen, and that she wrote Lady Shrewsbury to watch her husband. Shrewsbury was not a man who would be guilty of such conduct, but he despised Elizabeth for her petty jealousy and her miserable disposition regarding money. Lady Shrewsbury, on the other hand, was a jealous woman after Elizabeth's own heart, and made her husband's life miserable by watching him.

Moray was very active at this period, carrying out his unscrupulous game, as the following official and highly important paper shows. It is reproduced from the State Paper Office, and manifests the determination of the regent to uphold his authority at any sacrifice. His rule and that of the rebels depended entirely on the fragile life of the infant king, but so long as the child lived Moray was resolved to govern the kingdom. This paper, it will be noticed, is dated at Glasgow, and its object is a demand from the regent that all adherents and supporters of the queen shall now recognize and obey the king, her son, and specially that Hamilton, Herries, Cassillis, and the leaders of the queen's party should now give in. All who did so would have their lands and estates restored. A convention of both parties was

appointed to take place in Edinburgh on the 10th of April, for the purpose of drawing up an agreement whereby the queen, on conditions to be arranged, was to give her consent to her son being king and sole ruler of the kingdom.

Moray's arbitrary disposition would not allow him to stop here. He made it a condition that Hamilton's son, also Herries and Cassillis, were to be delivered up as hostages, pending the settlement of the matter. In asking his most bitter enemies to attend these conventions, Moray solemnly undertook to provide for their safety—"upon his honour they may come safely without any danger," etc.

How did Moray respect this solemn undertaking? On the arrival of these men at this convention he produced a paper and demanded their subscription on the spot. It was an acknowledgment of the king's authority. They promptly refused, and were immediately arrested and thrown into prison in Edinburgh Castle, where they were kept for eleven months. Of the proceedings at this convention we are not informed. Shortly after this, Moray issued a fresh proclamation, accusing Mary of the murder of her husband. As this took place after the Westminster conference had found no case against

her, it shows what an unscrupulous man Moray was. He not only knew the conference was right in its decision, but he knew that he and his companions were the murderers. What must have been the state of Scotland at that period when this was the morality practised by the regent!

The paper referred to is as follows :—

"The heads of the convention betwixt the regent and the nobility on the one part, and the Earl of Cassillis, the Lord He[rries], and the Abbot of Kilwinning, in names of the D[uke] of Chatelherault and other noblemen his adherents, on the other part, at [Glas]gow, the 13th day of March, 1569.

"It is desired on the part of the regent that the d[uke and] his adherents shall recognize the king and his [authority], acknowledge themselves to be his subjects, and consequ[ently] promise him service, obedience and fidelity in all [things] as unto their sovereign.

"It is desired upon the other part that they acknowledge the king as is aforesaid, shall be admitted to his presence in counsel and otherwise, as the very councillors of the realm as their predecessors have been in the times of other rulers of this realm. And that the regent bearing the sceptre shall be sworn solemnly from that time forward to act uprightly and impartially to them as to the remainder of the realm, in all their honest and just causes . . . or remembrance of any offence conceived against them during the time of their controversies.

"*Item*, that such persons have been forfalted of late

for obeying the queen, or refusing their obedience to the king, and shall be content in time coming to behave themselves as faithful subjects to the king and acknowledge their obedience to him, and shall be restored to their lands . . . and possessions notwithstanding the doom of forfaltor led against them. Providing that this benefice shall not be extended to those who have forfalted for act and part against the king our sovereign lord, or his slaughter.

"It is thought convenient that upon the tenth day of April next shall be assembled and convened together in Edinburgh in quiet and peaceable manner the persons following :—The . . . Regent, the Duke of Chatelherault, the Earls of Argyle, Atholl, Morton, Mar, Glencarne, and Lord Gilbert Kennedy, Earl of Cassillis, to resolve upon such heads as shall be communicated to the queen. And what the said nine persons or most part of them find may redound to her honour, without prejudice to the king and security aforesaid, the whole noblemen on both sides shall consent thereto. And for sure coming of the noblemen foresaid the regent has upon his honour promised that they may come safely without any danger in their coming, remaining, or returning.

"In the mean time it is agreed that the Duke of Chatelherault and others his adherents shall not challenge, use, nor extend any authority of lieutenancy or otherwise, granted unto them by the pretended commission of the queen our sovereign lord's mother, nor make impediment to officers of arms to execute letters in the king's name and the regent's throughout the realm and every part

thereof as occasion shall serve. In the mean time it is the regent's mind to execute no letters nor charges whereby the said duke and his adherents may be prejudged or touched in their persons, lands, or goods, but only by this article is meant that no impediment shall be made to the king's authority by them in the mean time.

"Because the forces may be presently dissolved whereby no injury be done to any subjects of the realm by way of deed, it is reasonable that security be made to the regent for performance of their part of the articles aforesaid, and the performance to them as concerns his part. Therefore the duke, the Earl of Cassillis, and Lord Herries shall presently enter sufficient pledges to remain with the regent while their part of the said articles is performed. That is to say, one of the duke's sons, the said Earl of Cassillis or his brother, and the said Lord Herries in his own behalf."

The following is an important letter of the Bishop of Ross to Queen Mary :—

London, May 2, 1569.

Please, your majesty, I was well received by the queen at Westminster, and delivered your letter, which was heartily received, and, being read, it pleased her to reason with me upon the contents thereof, and also upon the question of my credit. I considered her highness to be careful of your welfare and estate, and she was not content with your subjects who had withdrawn from your obedience. She also excused Lord Hunsdon, who, upon your majesty's pledge, must take and give redress on

the borders, but always without prejudice to your authority. She declared there was nothing to be done by her to your majesty's advancement and welfare that may be consistent with her honour and surety, but she will gladly do. And as to the particulars thereof, she deferred until the council should reason with me, and was content I should deliver your letters to the Lords of Council here, and confer with them. The next day I desired of new to see her, which was gladly granted. So on Friday I delivered your writing, and declared to her the state of Scotland, and every main part as I was informed, and found her offended with those who profess obedience to you and have withdrawn from the same, saying they are not worthy to live because of their treachery.

The queen finds it not good that your majesty be permitted to go to France, for divers inconveniences may arise there, but rather she is willing to help and further your affairs. She says she cannot be content that your majesty pass there where some time you declaimed her crown, doubting not but the cardinal and your friends will cause you to do the same again ; to which I answered, if she feared her, surely I should find a sufficient remedy—which is, that she support you herself, and you shall have to do with no strangers : otherwise ye must seek your relief elsewhere, and we that are your servants will negotiate with other princes. Therefore she promises to give a resolute answer by the advice of her council, which shall be sufficient. But as that will cause debate upon particular little heads, and specially upon the matter of the title, about which she hath spoken plainly to me, and very

reasonably for her own security and your weel, and as the same proceeds further, I shall advise you particularly. In the mean time I beseech your majesty to be of good comfort, and take no displeasure, albeit some untrue men cannot be avoided, for you have many good subjects in Scotland who will not leave you.

And the king and your friends prosper well in France, so that you are not destitute of friends; and I perceive the queen and all the nobility here seem to be more careful for your honour, weel, and welfare than ever before, which putteth me in good hope of a good and speedy resolution at their hands. I showed the article concerning Lord Shrewsbury to her highness, who regrets that he should be so hard, for it is her majesty's will that any servant coming from Scotland have access to your majesty, albeit they make no tarrying and keep to the number appointed. The secretary, I find, is willing to do you all the honour and service he can. His duty being reserved to his mistress, but he promises to advance your cause as far as in his power, and so do all the nobles here. Lord Bedford says that, although there have been evil reports made of him to you, he will never forget the honourable treatment you made him in Scotland, so that he will do all in his power for your honour and estate though his duty is reserved. He will help forward the greatness of the estate of Scotland, because he favours the Earl of Moray, much because of religion. I pray the Eternal God to preserve your majesty in health, with prosperous success in all your affairs.

J. Rossen.

This letter must have afforded the Queen

of Scots much satisfaction. The bishop's audience of Elizabeth is honestly told, and the letter affords us a more favourable view of her character than usual. She does not appear to have said anything to Lesley unkind or out of place, but her undertaking that she would do all in her power for the Queen of Scots was insincere as it turned out. It was, in short, a mere pretence to please Lesley, and her indignation at those who disobeyed the queen was mere irony, for at the time she was speaking she was actually lending those rebels money to carry on their treacherous work. She would not allow Mary to go to France, and this was exceedingly unfortunate for the Queen of Scots, as it meant life or death to her. The reason for the refusal was the assumption by Mary of the arms of England, and in that matter Mary was in the wrong. Lesley pressed Elizabeth for Mary's release, but all he could get was the promise of "a resolute answer by the advice of her council"—a polite way of saying no.

Argyll and Huntly began to lose heart in Mary's cause, and signed a treaty agreeing to recognize Moray's authority. Moray's statement that Mary had made a will, in case of her death, bequeathing her estate to others than Lord

Darnley was untrue. From the inventory of her estate, which has since been discovered, it appears that she bequeathed a larger share to Darnley than to any one else. This document, it has been truly said,[1] proclaims with resistless eloquence her affection for her husband, and brands her accusers as wilful and malicious liars. Huntingdon and Shrewsbury were at this date commissioned to look after her, and they were instructed by Elizabeth that, if any rising on the part of Norfolk's adherents took place, she should immediately be put to death. This throws a lurid light upon the character of Elizabeth: in fact, it fairly eclipses the conduct of the Scottish "nobles." Great exertions were made by Moray and his companions to get up an agitation against Mary. Lord Herries and her supporters got up a counter agitation, and ultimately prevailed. It is noticeable that all the English nobles of any influence supported Lord Herries warmly, being convinced of the infamous and untruthful accusations brought against Mary. Moray's conduct in London in persecuting her was regarded as so despicable and cruel that the English nobles in the North of England determined to put him to death, as also his companions, on their journey

[1] *Hosack.*

from London to Edinburgh. The plans were all laid for effecting this at Northallerton, but, as usual, Moray got word of it, and obtained passports which carried him safe to Edinburgh.

At Wingfield Mary took a mysterious illness, which was never clearly understood, and she had a narrow escape for her life. On her recovery, she found herself in pecuniary difficulties, and it is alleged had not wherewith even to pay her physician's fees. Lesley, bishop of Ross, applied to Norfolk, and that nobleman was so generous as to give her £500, which, with subsequent advances, made a total of £1600. Lesley afterwards obtained from the Spanish ambassador a bill of exchange for ten thousand Italian crowns, drawn on Rudolphi, a wealthy London merchant and an agent of the pope. From this she repaid Norfolk, and also sent some money for the relief of her subjects in Scotland.[1] It is said this loan was agreed to in order to induce her to break off with Norfolk and marry Don John of Austria, not by any means an improbable proposal, but if true it did not succeed. Mary, being worn out with her captivity and ill health, was anxious for her release, and willing to do anything to effect that object. The crafty Elizabeth would not release her after she

[1] *Strickland.*

had agreed to all the conditions. A large portion of the English nobility believed in her innocence, and they sent her a letter agreeing to settle the succession upon her on condition of her accepting an Englishman of the Reformed faith for her husband, pledging herself not to trouble the government of England, to establish the worship of the English Church, to pardon her rebellious subjects in Scotland, and to marry the Duke of Norfolk. Mary, it would appear, agreed, stating at the same time that she was not anxious to get married, as her marriages had been unfortunate. The alliance with Norfolk was generally approved, and a contract of marriage is alleged to have been executed by him and sent to Mary for signature, along with a magnificent diamond, as a pledge of his faith. She signed it, and wore the diamond in her bosom till the night before her execution. Mary sent Norfolk her miniature, set in a small tablet of gold, in return for the diamond. The contract was consigned with the French ambassador.

Shortly after this, Leonard Dacre, a prominent Catholic, approached Mary as she was taking her usual exercise, and suggested a plan for her escape, and explained it to her. He was supported by Northumberland and Christopher Norton,

Northumberland undertaking to provide twenty horsemen, and to meet her at a certain place of rendezvous, if she was agreeable. This was a very opportune time for such a plan, as Shrewsbury had been taken seriously ill, and the countess took him off to the baths at Buxton. For the moment, therefore, Mary was not very closely supervised. She said to Dacre she would be guided by the Duke of Norfolk's opinion, and, unfortunately for the poor captive, he was against it.

The next act in this drama was an invitation to dinner from Elizabeth to Norfolk. She was then living at Farnham. We are informed that she regarded him with ominous glances during dinner, and, when she rose, significantly bade him "beware of his pillow," referring to the block, as she afterwards ordered his execution. She expected he would have fallen in love with herself, for several nobles had fallen into that snare. Next day she upbraided him with presumptuously seeking marriage with Mary without her consent. Norfolk foolishly denied that there was anything in it, and added that he had no intention of marrying the Queen of Scots. At an interview afterwards he informed her that these rumours were all false, cruel, and devised by his enemies

for his ruin. "But," asked Elizabeth, "would you not marry the Scottish queen if you knew it would tend to the prosperity of the realm and the safety of my person?" "Madam," said Norfolk, "that woman shall never be my wife who has been your competitor, and whose husband cannot sleep in security on his pillow." This was a politic reply of Norfolk, who evidently saw the trap Elizabeth had set for him.

CHAPTER XII.

Lord Boyd's mission and procuration from Mary—Copy of the Commission signed by her for prosecuting a divorce against Bothwell —Report of the Convention at Perth which considered it, and the result of the vote—Moray's opposition—Maitland arrested for Darnley's murder—Arrest of Lord Seton—Their release by Kirkaldy of Grange—His narrow escape from assassination—Maitland's trial stopped by Lord Home—Execution and confession of Hubert, "French Paris"—Norfolk sent to the Tower —Important letter of Maitland to Mary—Letter, Huntingdon and Hereford to Cecil—Letter, the Bishop of Ross to Lord Herries—The Owen scheme—Unpublished letter, Mary to Cecil.

Robert, fourth Lord Boyd, was a prominent nobleman during Mary's reign, but it was not till 1567 that he was an actual partisan of hers. He negotiated with Argyll and others for her release from Lochleven, and he met her at Hamilton when she escaped, and accompanied her to Langside. He was one of her commissioners at the York and Westminster conferences. Mary had the greatest confidence in him, for she employed him as a medium between herself and the Duke

of Norfolk in her love matters, and he was entrusted by the duke to carry the famous document to Mary on her betrothal, and of which she wrote the duke—

"I took from my Lord Boyd the diamond, which I shall keep unseen about my neck till I give it again to the owner of it and me both."

Elizabeth's privy council were gradually becoming Mary's friends. We are informed that the majority compelled Elizabeth not only to allow Lord Boyd to proceed to Scotland, but to make him the bearer of the following despatch :—First, that they should restore Mary to her royal estate ; or, secondly, associate her in the sovereignty with her son, the administration to remain with the regent till the prince completes his seventeenth year ; or, lastly, that she might return to Scotland to live a private person, with honourable treatment and a suitable allowance. Lord Boyd also had an official mandate, or procuration, from Mary to institute proceedings for a divorce against Bothwell, and a convention of the nobles was held at Perth on the 31st of July to consider it. The procuration is a curious document, and we reproduce it from the State papers in Gray's Inn.

Commission by the Queen for prosecuting a Divorce from Bothwell.

Mary by the grace of God Queen of Scots and Dowager of France to all and sundry for whose knowledge these present letters shall come Greeting in God everlasting. Forasmuch as we are credibly informed by sundry and divers noblemen of our realm that the pretended marriage some time contracted and in a manner solemnized betwixt us and James Earl of Bothwell was for divers reasons unlawful, and may not of good conscience nor law stand betwixt us (albeit it seemed otherwise to us and our council at that time), considering therefore with ourselves, and thinking that the same does touch us so highly in honour and conscience that it daily and hourly troubles and vexes our spirit so that we are nerved to seek remedy therefor, And for this cause we have asked counsel of the greatest clerks, best learned and expert doctors in divine and human laws, as we could have in any country. By these we are assuredly informed and certainly persuaded that the said pretended marriage is unlawful; nor can it in any way by law be maintained as good. Not only because he was before contracted to another wife and he not lawfully divorced from her, but also (although we were informed there was no impediment) that there were divers great impediments of affinity and otherwise standing betwixt us, which if they had been known to us would have made an impediment to our proceedings, and, now being revealed to us, are sufficient to make us clearly understand that we may be separated from him by the laws for. . . . atione

of our . . . . mind and will, to accord to all things which are both honourable for discharging our conscience relief of our troubled and afflicted spirit; as also for the declaration of our own honor and the contentment of our estates and the subjects of our realm, We, of our own motive, free will and mind have made, constituted, nominated, and ordained, and by the tenor of these presents make, constitute, nominate, and ordain our well beloved . . . our very lawful, undoubted and irrevocable commissioners, procurators, actors, factors and especially errand bearers, Given granted and committed unto them and each of them conjointly and severally our full power, express command and charge for us and in our name to compeer before the Rev. Father in God John Archbishop of St. Andrews, primate and legate of our realm, or any of his commissaries or judges depute or to be deputed by him to that effect; or before the commissaries of the spiritual jurisdiction and consistory of Edinburgh or any other judge or judges spiritual or temporal whatsoever, either within our realm of Scotland or outwith the same having power to the effect underwritten within the town of Edinburgh or whatever place or places within or without our realm as said is, And there to receive summons in order of law, summoning all them who have interest therein, And to propose cause of divorce in our name against the said James, Earl of Bothwell, for such impediments as may lawfully be proposed, And thereupon by bill and petition to give in. Or, in case the same shall happen to be pursued by the said James or any others the answer thereto in form of law for us exception is——

Interlocutors and definitives to . . . to be pronounced

and thereupon acts and instruments to take ask and require. . . . Letters testimonials of the decree in form as effeirs to lift and obtain. And generally to do all manner of things in prosecuting the said cause of divorce or answering thereto as if we were ourselves in judgment at every diet *in propria personæ*. Promising faithfully on the word of a princess that we shall hold firm and stable all and whatsoever things our commissioners and procurators or any one of them shall do in our name and behalf in the premises under the penalty of perjury and infamy, and never shall come in the contrary thereof. In witness whereof we have subscribed this procuration with our own hand and have caused our signet to be affixed thereto, and our will is that it be as sufficient as if our great seal were affixed to the same. At Wingfield, the . . . day of May, in the year of God, 1569, and twenty-seventh year of our reign before these witnesses our trusty cousin and counsellor Robert Lord Boyd our familiar servant John Beton of Lochwood and of our master of the household James Borthwick, one of the masters of our curey, Roulet our secretary, and James Boyd of Kipps.

MARIE R.

This document appears to be the "Procuratorie" produced by Robert Lord Boyd (who is a witness to it) before the Scottish Privy Council at Perth, where they sat for a few days in July, 1569. The presentation and reception thereof stand thus recorded in the Register of the Privy Council, presided over by the Regent Moray :—

"At Perth, 31st July, 1569, which day in presence of the Regent, the Lords of Secreit Counsall, and others of the nobility and estaittis abovewrittin, compeered Lord Boyd and produc'd a procuratorie subscribed be the Quene, mother to the King our Soveragn for persowing of an actioun of divorce in hir name, aganist James sumtime Earl Bothwell, requiring that commandiment mycht be gevin to the Commissaris of Edinburgh and others to give summons at hir instance in the said mater. Lord Boyd being removid and his propositioun put in deliberatioun amangist the Lordis of Secreit Counsall, nobility and utheris qwhethir thai wuld if the Regent counselled to gif command to the saidis Commissaris and others mentionat in the procuration to gif summons and proceid in the said actioun of divorce upon that which was spokin or showin in writing. The said Lords of Secreit Counsall and otheris and States abovewrittin votit as is particularlie aboue noted ut thair heidis; that is to say, the personis noted with D. deny it to give his Grace counsall to give any sic commandiment upon that which wes spokin and produceid in writting. And the uther personis markit with G. grantit and give counsall to his Grace to give commandiment as wes desired; and the Treasurer took instrumentis upon the granting and geving of counsall of the saidis personis to command the Commissaris to proceid, alleging the same to be prejudiciall to our Soverane Lord and his authoritie."

The result of the voting was that nine were in favour of the divorce and forty against it. Moray and the guilty Chancellor Morton

abstained from voting. How the tables are turned! When Queen Mary was a prisoner in Lochleven, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was denied access to her. He now informs his royal mistress that the Lords meant a divorce betwixt the queen and Bothwell, as a marriage is not to be suffered for many reasons, and that they mean prosecution of justice against him: and these conditions being accomplished they will both put her to liberty and restore her to her estate.

One object Mary had in forwarding this procuration was to clear the way for her marriage with Norfolk. The convention was numerously attended, and Mary's cause was ably advocated by Maitland. The proposals of the English Privy Council were negatived. Maitland, when he saw the treachery of Moray, said, "It was very strange that those who had so lately taken up arms expressly for the purpose of separating the queen from Bothwell should have now so entirely changed their minds." The meeting was a stormy one on account of the revolutionary character of the business. As usual, Moray defeated the queen's intentions, because if she were released and married Norfolk his occupation would be gone. One writer[1] says the great

[1] *Strickland.*

object of Lord Boyd's mission was to deliver conciliatory letters from Mary to Moray and the convention, offering them pardon for past conduct if she was liberated and restored, and requesting them to co-operate in appointing judges to try the legality of the Bothwell marriage, and, if illegal, to pronounce sentence of nullity. Moray, with his usual duplicity, advocated the propriety of acceding to the treaty for the queen's restoration, while he secretly exerted his influence to have it negatived by his confederates in the convention. Another historian[1] says Moray was not present at the convention: that Maitland read her letters about the divorce, and a violent debate ensued; and after a scene of utter confusion the meeting broke up without coming to any decision. This opinion is evidently incorrect. Another authority[2] says it was thought at the convention that her deliverance from prison and her reduction to a private station were reasonable expedients. The convention broke up with strong and unequivocal marks of hostility and anger. Historians disagree about the proceedings of this convention. Considering the importance of the business and how much it concerned Moray's welfare he was bound to be present, and the foregoing official

[1] *Hosack.* [2] *Dr. Stuart.*

report confirms this. It is much more likely that his presence accounts for the large vote against the queen. Some historians must have been ignorant of the existence of this document, which has an important bearing on one of the great controversial incidents of Mary's life. These two papers are not really essential, for we have sufficient evidence otherwise to guide us, but they are factors in the case, and materially strengthen the evidence we possess.

Moray never forgave Maitland for joining the queen at this crisis, and he immediately called a convention at Stirling, and by false promises induced Maitland to attend it. Thomas Crawford appeared, evidently by arrangement, and demanded justice to be done to Maitland and Sir James Balfour for the murder of Darnley. There was great sensation, and Maitland was arrested and taken prisoner to Edinburgh, and lodged in Forrester's house. Lord Seton was also arrested.[1] Kirkaldy of Grange hearing of this incident promptly surrounded Forrester's house with a band of soldiers, and presenting a forged warrant with Moray's signature took the prisoners to Edinburgh Castle in triumph. Kirkaldy was now one of the queen's supporters. Moray invited him to his house to

discuss this matter, but Kirkaldy suspecting foul play did not go; and he was right, for Morton had four men in readiness to assassinate him the moment he appeared. Moray then offered to go to Kirkaldy's house, his object being to give up Maitland to stand his trial. "Yes," replied Kirkaldy, "on condition that the Earl of Morton and Archibald Douglas are immediately arrested and proceeded against according to the form of law and justice as the principal authors of the crime." Kirkaldy promised that Maitland would stand his trial when called upon, but Moray and Morton became too much afraid of awkward consequences. The trial, however, was fixed for the 22nd of November. When the day came round, Lord Home with an armed force appeared on the scene, and this disconcerted Moray so much that he intimated that, as the town was so occupied by troops, no trial could take place and no sentence could be pronounced. It would be prorogued till quiet was restored, and they laid down their arms.[1] And so this matter dropped.

After the Perth convention, Nicholas Hubert, or "French Paris," a servant of Bothwell's, comes on the scene. Moray is alleged to have got this individual to fabricate "posthumous confessions,"

[1] Moray to Cecil, November 22, 1569.

verifying the accusations against Mary which were put forward by Moray at the York and Westminster conferences, as also to authenticate the Casket Letters. Moray, who had imprisoned Hubert in the dungeon of St. Andrews Castle, having got this out of him, ordered his execution, which took place at St. Andrews on the 15th of August, 1569. Immediately before his death he revoked what he had confessed to Moray, and made a *bonâ fide* confession, as recorded by Lesley, Bishop of Ross, in his "Defence of the honour of Queen Mary":—

> "As for him that ye surmise was the bearer of the Letters (Paris), and whom ye have executed for the said murder, he, at the time of his execution, took it upon his oath, as he should answer before God, that he never carried any such letters, and the queen was not participator or accessory in the cause."

Elizabeth wanted to have an interview with Hubert when she heard of these "confessions." She sent three special messengers, one after the other, but Moray informed her that he was executed before her letters arrived. "I trust," he said, "that his testimony shall be found so authentic that his credit shall not be doubted." Elizabeth was displeased, and requested "a legal

verification of documents so extravagantly opposed to probability," but that was impossible to procure. She heard of the betrothal of Norfolk and Mary, and in October she sent Norfolk to the Tower. He was released on the 4th of August, 1570, but only for a temporary period. He still managed to keep up his correspondence with Mary.

The following is an unpublished letter by Maitland to the Queen of Scots :—

Edinburgh Castle, September 20, 1569.

So far as I can learn, Ross assures himself that the Queen of England will never support your majesty, neither will he ever digest that your majesty be ever joined in marriage with the Duke of Norfolk. This opinion feeds his humour, and makes him more obstinate than he would otherwise be. If you get the Queen of England's permission to come into Scotland, and the assistance of some forces, I think assuredly you shall never see a man against you, at least none that are able to cast the balance. If you perceive that the Queen of England does but feed you with words, and drives time to see what success matters take in other countries, you may press another way, and for my opinion this is the best. Solicit by your own means all your friends, so that Sir Nicholas Throckmorton may be sent into Scotland with commission from the Queen of England, and that he be directed not only to Moray, but to the whole

nobility of the realm. The Queen of England has good grounds whereon to direct him. At the last convention, in St. Johnstoun, her instructions were opened. It was marvellous why she should not have sent one of her own to declare her meaning if she was disposed to bring the matter to an understanding. Besides this Moray washed his hands of the matter, and in his answer lays the burden upon the nobility. When one of her own shall come and reason with themselves and hear them speak, it may be that other language will be spoken than has been hitherto. I know Sir Nicholas to be a wise man and your friend; he has credit with many here, and his word will persuade more than any others. As to the state of the realm, if the nobility had the courage to assemble together, it would not be in the hands of a few men to overthrow all good matters. If your majesty accept this direction to him, it were necessary I knew of his coming beforehand, so that I may write to all friends to come to the Assembly. And I have no doubt that such a number will come, and so well accompanied that there shall be free speaking. It would be good for your majesty to come to some resolution. If the Queen of England will take the maintenance of your cause upon her, albeit she bestows but small charges, there will be no contradiction; if she will not, but will still entertain both sides, yet there is remedy enough, if men will understand that it is in vain to trust to her support. For then within the realm a way must be taken to reform what is amiss. There is enough to show that both have the will and force to do it. But so long as we build upon two foundations,

we shall never bring one good work to pass. The leaning upon the hope that your majesty has of the Queen of England's force distracts our mind from trying our own. The directing hither of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton will serve your turn in every way, and, as I think, bring you to your designs with quietness. That which he will speak will be taken here to be the mind of the nobility of England. I have of late dealt with divers ministers here, who will not be repugnant to a good understanding; however, I think Knox is inflexible. The Laird of Grange, who by reason of this castle may do much, will be conformable, for whom I dare answer that he bears you good will as any subject you have. Albeit for his own reputation, he will ever address good ways to Moray, who he thinks must rather be drawn on by necessity, when he finds himself in a strait, than that he will yield beforehand while he sees apparent danger. In the mean time I would you found the means, if it be possible, to keep Moray still on the borders, and that the officers of England drive time with him. Matters will frame the better in the country. Robert Melville marvels you write nothing to him. I assure your majesty you have not a trustier servant within Scotland than he is, nor one who has more evil will of your enemies, and yet ceases never to do good offices for you. So I humbly kiss your majesty's hand.

(In cipher.)

From the Castle of Edinburgh.

Maitland had by this time returned to his allegiance to the queen, but too late to do her

any good. It is a proof, however, that, notwithstanding his treacherous conduct, he believed her to be innocent of Darnley's murder. There is a great deal of good sense in this letter. By this time Maitland had discovered the treachery of Elizabeth: "It is in vain to trust to her support;" and he counsels Mary not to build on two foundations—the supporters of Elizabeth, and the support of her own people, his meaning being that she should disregard Elizabeth and allow Maitland and her supporters to prosecute her cause by force of arms.

When Maitland speaks of keeping Moray on the borders, we would infer that Elizabeth and Moray were the two people who kept the Queen of Scots in captivity—and undoubtedly he is right. But Maitland was not a leader, and the cause of Mary made no progress in his hands. He wrote letters, but he did not enforce his views. It was easy to say, "If you come into Scotland there will not be a man against you." It was for Maitland and his followers to bring the queen into Scotland. Her imprisonment was due to their persecution. Maitland and Kirkaldy were much to blame for not getting up an armed force and rescuing her, in place of writing letters which were of no practical use.

The following letter is closely connected with the events of this period :—

Earl of Huntingdon and Lord Hereford to Sir William Cecil.

Wingfield, September 21, 1569.

Though Mr. Skipwith can and will tell you how Lord Shrewsbury sent for us, and of our repairing hither, yet we desire to let you understand such particulars as have passed between us. Lord Huntingdon imparted to us what Mr. Skipwith brought to him from the queen's majesty, whereupon in conference it seemed that for many causes he thought it convenient to remove the Queen of Scots from hence to Sheffield, which he determined before Mr. Skipwith came. He utterly "misliked" this, partly because it was her desire to go that way; partly because he liketh not this country, and worse of that country; and chiefly because it was furthest from us. Before our coming hither, he had sent for his provisions, and concluded to bring her to Tutbury, whither this day she goeth, and me in company with him, for he hath so earnestly required us.

On Monday night we came hither, and yesternight at evening prayer we saw her, and not before. The sum or her conversation to us (which Lord Shrewsbury did also hear) was of the unkind and straitlaced dealing of our sovereign towards her, into whose hands she said she had committed herself, hoping for her majesty's aid against her enemies. And now, when she looked to reap the fruit of that hope, which was to be restored to her country, she was in utter despair, for her hope of going

homewards took so contrary an effect. For (to use her own terms) she said Tutbury was "fromwards" her home. But, saith she, if my good sister will do nothing for me, then I will try what other princes will do. But of this speech you can better judge than we of what force it is.

Further, she desired to send one of her own up with letters, and to bring this purpose to pass, she used many devices. But Lord Shrewsbury still denied it, and for our part we advised him to do so till he heard again from her majesty. The carriage of her letters was offered to her both by my lord and us, but the offer she refused with thanks, still desiring to send one of her own.

H. HUNTINGDON.
W. HEREFORD.

This is a gratuitous, hardhearted, and cruel letter, and is of consequence, as letting us see the scope of the correspondence that was going on at this trying period of the queen's life. Huntingdon was not particularly friendly to her at any time. Mary bitterly regrets having put herself into Elizabeth's hands, and the writers point this out to Cecil, but they might have spared themselves the trouble.

The following letter, bearing on the subject, was published by Haynes from the Cecil MSS. :—

The Earl of Huntingdon to Sir William Cecil.

Since the writing of my last, though the difference of time be not great, I trust that you will use it as may

best serve for the service of her majesty, and yet not increase the offence betwixt my lord and me. I find my lord not very willing to be rid of his charge; by many speeches that have passed from him. The same mind, also, I guess to be in my lady; they both have said they be glad of the discharge which they look for. My recollection contrary to this speech is not without cause; I think by my lord's letters you will gather no less, for he hath sent one up with all speed, which he never told me till he was gone. Yet neither my messenger, nor his message did I keep from him; for I read my letters to him, and he required me in the reading to add the parenthesis of his present state of health. The Queen of Scots also, I perceive, is not willing to change her keeper, and specially for me. I pray you, if it may be, let her desire take place. She desired yesternight to have sent letters to the queen's majesty in company of one of our men. First my lord came to my chamber and told it me; I denied it, but so did not he; and some difference we had for that matter. After supper Borthwick came to us together with the same request. I plainly denied it, but in a courteous manner, that without me he could not grant it, and so desired Borthwick to tell the queen, which he did. He returned with this answer, that the queen requested us to write to our sovereign of her desire and our denial; which I consented to. But first I required to speak with the queen, as, I am sure, before that answer she was determined I should. In our talk with Borthwick my lord let fall this speech: "I can do nothing without Lord Huntingdon till my man come again from the

Mary Stuart.

From the portrait in the possession of
Miss Leslie Melville. Melville House. Fife.

Court." Here was my first notice of his man's going, whereof we had some talk, the which before I only gathered suspiciously—I mean of her desire to keep his charge. I perceive also *non facile patitur æqualem*. Therefore I heartily require you, if my desire for discharge may not take place, let me be *solus*, or have some other match; if it be thought fit I shall serve. For so I find in myself I shall be better able to serve, than in such sort as this present. And to Ashby I would carry her, if I should have her, where by the grace of God I would make a true account of her. But still I say, if with favour I may be discharged, so be it.

From Tutbury, September 25, 1569.

H. HUNTINGDON.

It is evident from this letter that Huntingdon was anxious to take the place of Shrewsbury as Mary's keeper; but Mary knew he was unfriendly to her, and therefore objected to him. Cecil respected her wishes, and Huntingdon was not appointed.

The following is a letter from the Bishop of Ross to Lord Herries:—

London, October 23, 1569.

This is to advise you that the queen's majesty's sent a letter lately to me from Tutbury, the 10th of October, making mention that the Queen of England wrote to the Earl of Moray to pay the men of Carlisle a certain sum which her majesty borrowed from them. At which

time Moray made his excuse to John Wood, that Huntly, who was disobedient, received the casualties of the north, and, if he might be answered, he should pay the said sum; which excuse we cannot show him. And therefore I did desire the English queen to write earnestly to Moray for satisfaction of the said payment. Which I did the 15th day of this month, at Windsor; and it pleased her majesty to give me answer, that Moray had disobeyed divers of her letters, sent to him in favour of the Queen of Scots' own subjects and others of her affairs; and so that she would not trouble him with further writings in this cause at present. And therefore remembering your lordship, I obtained the said first letters at Hampton Court, to be sent to Moray for payment of the poor men. I will yet be so homely as to pray you to travel with him there, until the same may be satisfied for the discharge of his procurations, seeing well that all occasion of excuse is taken away. I doubt not that you are sufficiently advised of the state of this country, which upon some wrong reports is partly altered. But I believe the queen and her council will shortly take such steps as will tend to the honourable treatment of her highness, and the quietness of her majesty and her subjects, and to the comfort and welfare of the realm.

Your lordship's good friend,

Jo. Rosse.

This is an important letter as indicating an incident in Moray's life, not otherwise recorded. The incident is not to Moray's credit. The Queen of Scots borrowed money at Carlisle, as

she left the field of Langside with no money whatever. It would appear from this letter that Moray was instructed by Elizabeth to repay it, and he did not do so. What the casualties on the Moray estates had to do with this is a mystery. The suggestion that Elizabeth wrote Moray for satisfaction of the payment looks as if he got the money though he did not pay Mary's debt with it. This does not surprise us, as Moray's love of money was notorious. But this is not all. Moray, according to the bishop, "had disobeyed several of Elizabeth's letters, sent to him in favour of Mary's faithful subjects." This was an inexcusable proceeding, yet there is no notice of Elizabeth having demanded any explanation. The bishop beseeches Lord Herries to take the matter up, and see that these "poor men" who befriended the queen are repaid their money. The result is not known, but there is little doubt Lord Herries did as suggested, even if he paid the money out of his own pocket.

There is a letter in the State Paper Office, under date November 9th, Mary to Cecil, in which she says she has written several letters to Elizabeth, and received no answer. She begs that he will move her to have pity on her estate, and as she has refused the aid of all other princes, that she

will abstract her unnatural wrath from her, and help her to be restored to her own realm and authority. The illness of Mary at this period, and her low condition, was referred to in several despatches to Cecil.

The Owen scheme for rescuing Mary as she was travelling from Coventry to Tutbury was communicated to her, but she would not agree to it without Norfolk's consent. A parcel of letters in cipher, books, and coins arrived from some unknown friend as a present to Mary. Her keeper read the letters, and advised Cecil of the contents. The reply was to remove Mary from Coventry to Tutbury on the 2nd of January, 1570.

Unpublished letter :—

Queen Mary to Sir William Cecil.

Tutbury, November 9, 1569.

Notwithstanding that we have several times written to the queen, lamenting our piteous state and uncourteous dealing, as well towards our own person as the company we have, abiding her good resolution in our cause, and indulging in hope at her hands this long time past, and as it has obtained no answer, we have no way of requiring the same as otherwise we would have done. But detained here as a prisoner in very strict guard, we have written to her other letters to the said effect, praying you to give your good advice and counsel to the queen,

that she have pity on our estate. Also (seeing we have refused the aid of all other princes) our consideration, and also theirs is waiting on her loving friendship. We have in no ways done anything that might offend her, but ever followed her good will and bidding patiently, for the determination of her and her council. Albeit the queen may be otherwise informed by the vile and false inventions of our enemies. We hope she will withdraw her unnatural wrath from us as undeserved, and will aid us to be restored to our own realm and authority. Whereupon humbly we desire her resolute answer without long delay, and give audience to our councillor and ambassador, the Bishop of Ross, to whom we pray you give credit as to ourselves. He will show the queen and you our needs more amply, and our honest proceedings and sincere dealings with her; as knows God Who must have you in protection.

Your right good friend,

Marie, R.

CHAPTER XIII.

Northumberland and Westmoreland Rebellion—Mary's removal to Coventry—Failure of the King of Spain to fulfil his promise of help—Letter, Mary to Cecil—Betrayal of Northumberland—Three hundred persons in Durham massacred by Elizabeth—Moray desires Elizabeth to deliver Mary to him—The Countess of Northumberland's plan for Mary's escape—Negotiations resumed for the removal of Mary to Scotland, and for her secret assassination—Assassination of Moray—Details of the plot for Mary's murder—Character of Moray—Alleged reasons for his assassination—Disparity of Tytler, Strickland, and Hill Burton's opinion of the cause of this event—Letter from Mary to Norfolk—Examination of Harvey respecting the Bishop of Ross's book—Maitland and others complain to Elizabeth of the two titles of mother and son to the Crown—Excommunication of Elizabeth by Pope Pius V.—Mary's removal to Chatsworth—Visit of Cecil and Mildmay, and their conversation with Mary—Election of Lennox as regent—Letter from Mary to Lady Margaret Lennox—Norfolk released from the Tower—Maitland and Sussex correspondence respecting the queen—Letter, Maitland to the queen—Letter, Maitland to Bishop of Ross—Countess of Moray and the queen's jewels.

In November the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, warm friends of Mary, raised the standard of rebellion to compel her release and restoration, and to prepare the way for her marriage with Norfolk. They collected a considerable number of troops, entered Durham and

advanced southwards towards Tutbury. Shrewsbury got alarmed, and wrote Cecil that the rebels were within fifty miles of him. A warrant was at once issued for Mary's removal to Coventry, and she was compelled to set out on the same day that the warrant arrived (November 24th). She was in charge of Shrewsbury and Huntingdon, the latter a second edition of Lindsay of the Byres. Mary remained fourteen days at Coventry, and her keepers were instructed not to allow her to see any one. Hartlepool and Barnard Castle surrendered to the rebels, and this alarmed Elizabeth—who thought the rebellion so small that it would be easily subdued. The Catholics rose against her, and it was a much more formidable affair than she anticipated.

She immediately sent troops to put down this rebellion, and but for this Mary would have been promptly rescued. The Earl of Sussex commanded the English forces, which were superior in every way to those of the rebels. A supplementary force of twelve thousand was despatched under the Earl of Warwick, and this disconcerted Northumberland and Westmoreland, who withdrew to Hexham. They were pursued and defeated, the leaders escaping into Scotland. Westmoreland was received and accommodated by Kerr

of Fernihurst near Jedburgh. Northumberland took refuge with Armstrong, a border chief, at Harlaw, near Hawick. Mary asked the King of Spain for money and troops to help this rebellion, and he promised twenty thousand men, but when the time came he failed to keep his obligation. Had he kept it there was every probability that the rebels would have overpowered Sussex, and released the Scottish queen. His change of front acted depressingly on the courage of the insurgents. Mary's English supporters depended on help from Scotland and Spain, and they were much disappointed. After the defeat Elizabeth still cried for blood. She demanded that those who had taken refuge in Scotland should be delivered up to her, but the Scottish nobles promptly refused to comply, and secretly procured boats and sent the exiles to Flanders. Why this insurrection was not strongly backed up by the Scottish people it is difficult to understand. This want of courage and want of energy contributed much to the blasting of Mary's hopes and to the lengthening out of her captivity. In some of the military actions of the period—Carberry and Langside—Mary's troops seem to have been a mere rabble of untrained and undisciplined men. This, however, was not peculiar

to Mary's time, for in the reign of some of her predecessors—at Pinkie, Flodden, and Solway Moss—the same wretched condition characterized the Scottish troops.

The following unpublished letter of Mary will be read with considerable interest :—

Queen Mary to Sir William Cecil.

Coventry, December 9, 1569.

Seeing the orders that the Earl of Shrewsbury is to take anent our servants remaining beside us (which we have seen by the memorial thereof), we perceive our request made to you in our last letter to have taken effect, and hope that in all our reasonable desires (as otherwise we intend never to require you), you will favour us. Wherefore we give you most hearty thanks, praying you to hold the queen ever in remembrance of the good and sincere affection we bear towards her; which, if it be reported to the contrary, that she give us credit for the same. We hope you will solicit her for her good and resolute answer to our former letters, this long time by-past looked for. For the obtaining of which we will be the more indebted to you, and we doubt not but you will travail earnestly. So we pray the Eternal God to preserve you.

I trust you will take this my thanks and request, for a continuance of your lawful favour. I write not these two times with my hand, for I was not well at either time. I fear so to trouble the queen, because it appears, as she is not answering any of my letters, they are not taken in good part, and that I must forbear writing till

I know her pleasure, and so I will the oftener trouble you to put her in remembrance of me.

Your very good and assured friend,

MARIE, R.

On the 20th of December, Moray, hearing of the hopeless condition of the rebellion, marched to Peebles, having summoned the Scottish forces to meet him there and join the English for its suppression. Proceeding to Hawick he met the heroic Northumberland, who was there and then basely betrayed by Armstrong for a sum of money and handed over to him. Moray imprisoned him in Lochleven. The Kerrs and Scots would not give up Westmoreland, and intimated their determination to fight for him, but the offer was declined. In this rebellion it is said no blood was shed except on the scaffold. Elizabeth behaved with extreme brutality. She is reported to have executed in the County of Durham alone no less than three hundred persons supposed to be supporters of Mary and of the rebellion. Those who had estates had their lives spared but the estates forfeited. To stop this wholesale massacre the high sheriff wrote her that many places would be left destitute of inhabitants if he continued to obey her order.[1]

[1] Record Office notes by Cecil.

It is said that Moray at this crisis solicited Elizabeth to deliver to him the Queen of Scots. The authority is Labanoff, and it is probably correct. Why he preferred this request is uncertain, unless it were to take her life. Elizabeth, according to some historians, agreed to send Mary to Hull if Moray would go there and receive her, and take her to Scotland. We need not be surprised that he declined to do so, as he would never have returned. His movements were keenly watched. He must have suspected this when he asked Elizabeth for military assistance to carry out her request. Evidently the matter dropped, for we hear no more about it until January following, when the negotiations were resumed. By this time the keen eyes of the Hamiltons were upon him, and Moray, as subsequent events show, had only a few weeks more to live. It was well, for his regency was a total failure and was becoming intolerable.

At this period the Countess of Northumberland tried to effect Mary's escape by introducing herself as a nurse when one of Mary's household, the wife of Sebastian Page, was in childbed. The countess was to exchange clothes with Mary, and Mary was to effect her escape dressed also as a nurse. The plan, however, did not meet approval, and was dropped.

In January negotiations were resumed between Moray and Elizabeth for the removal of Mary to Scotland, Elizabeth stipulating that all English nobles in Scotland, political prisoners, be delivered up. There is a letter, Sussex to Maitland, dated on the 29th of July, 1569, in which it is stated that the regent and his faction during the conference had urged Elizabeth to put Mary to death. This letter opens up a new scene of villainy. At the time when the regent and his friends were seeking by means of forged papers to destroy the reputation of the queen, and to make her accessory to Darnley's murder, they were secretly urging Elizabeth to take her life. Assuming Mary's friends plotted to overthrow Elizabeth, although they were legally guilty of treason, can it be maintained in truth and justice that they were more culpable than Cecil and his colleagues, whose selfish ambition rendered the compact inevitable? And also, in the eyes of posterity, they must be held responsible for its results.[1]

The assassination of the Regent Moray, by Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, on the 23rd of

[1] *Hosack.* Of this date (1569) there is a letter in the State Paper Office, Mary to Cecil, stating that the thanks of a poor prisoner are of little value, but she expresses hers for the passport obtained for the bearer, and begs him to aid her in obtaining the favour of Elizabeth.

January, 1570, was an astounding event, which appalled not only the English queen, but the entire nobility of England and Scotland. Moray was travelling with his retinue from Stirling to Edinburgh *viâ* Linlithgow. The main street of that old-fashioned town where Moray passed is to this day very narrow, as it was then. In Moray's time only two horsemen could walk abreast. There was a considerable crowd, and, the street being narrow, they had to go slowly. Bothwellhaugh had made his arrangements some days before, and they were complete to the extent of having a feather-bed spread on the floor of the gallery to muffle his tread, and a black cloth to cover the window and prevent his being seen. In this cloth he cut a hole to enable him to take aim. The house is still pointed out. Moray was warned that there was danger ahead, but he declined to stop his cavalcade, which, with a great crowd, had entered this narrow street. In the circumstances it was impossible for Bothwellhaugh to miss his aim, and Moray was shot mortally the moment he passed the spot. Bothwellhaugh fled, but the excitement was so great that he was not pursued, and he arrived shortly after at Hamilton Palace.

The assassination of Moray was a daring

act on the part of Hamilton, to rid the country of a tyrant. To Elizabeth it was overwhelming, for there is reason to suppose that Moray and she had all but concluded terms for privately murdering the Queen of Scots. The scheme is referred to in a letter in the Record Office by Sir Francis Englefield to the Duchess of Feria, an Englishwoman. The scope of the letter is that Mary was to be handed over to Moray; that, during the night, she was to be put on board a ship at Bristol; that the ship, after it was quite out to sea, was to be scuttled, and the queen was to go down with it, while those in the ship arranged their escape. We cannot but believe that, but for Bothwellhaugh, the bargain concluded between Moray and Elizabeth would have been speedily followed by the murder of the Scottish queen.[1] It is said that Knox abetted Moray in this contemplated outrage, but we have been unable to verify the statement. On the disclosure of this information at the Record Office, can there be any doubt that Moray's accusation of the queen at York and Westminster, by means of so-called letters to Bothwell, was a case of deliberate perjury? Little regret appears to have been expressed for the death of Moray. His

[1] *Hosack.*

being accessory to the murder of Darnley, his cruelty and treachery, his persecution of Mary, his selling himself to Elizabeth, and by his schemes keeping the country in constant disorder,—these things explain why no regret for his death was felt either by the nobles or by his supporters. The great object of his life was the acquisition of property and power. Bothwellhaugh fought for Mary at Langside, and was taken prisoner, but was afterwards released and went to France for a time. It is alleged that Sir John Bellenden, the justice clerk and an unprincipled man, got a gift of his estates from Moray at Langside. Hamilton's wife had given birth to a child the day before Bellenden arrived to take possession. Most men in the circumstances would have had the gallantry to leave the lady alone; but Bellenden, so it is said, with inexcusable brutality, and regardless of the common feelings of humanity, "thrust the young mother out of the house into the deep snow, undefended from the inclemency of a wild winter night." The next morning she was found in the woods bereft of her reason, and she died shortly after. This is the story as told by Tytler and Strickland, on the authority of the Calderwood MSS. Burton regards this as a fable. He says—

"Bellenden, the justice clerk, was the uncle of the heiress, Bothwellhaugh's wife, and the object was to place the estate for a time in his hands, to save it from forfeiture for acts of her husband. When Hamilton was afterwards outlawed by Act of Parliament, a writ was served upon him. In January, 1592, Isobel and Alison Sinclair, by an Act of Council were restored to the estates of Woodhouselee. In 1609, this was ratified by Parliament."

Burton quotes from Paterson's "Criminal Trials." In another narrative, it is difficult to get over the following quotation[1] :—

"Hamilton went to France after he shot the regent, and remained there ten or eleven years. He returned to Scotland in 1581 on the fall of Morton, and was very cordially received by James VI. and his outlawry recalled. In France he was offered a large reward if he would undertake the assassination of Coligni. He refused, saying: 'I have avenged myself on the villain who made my home desolate, and I glory in the deed. Coligni never injured me, why, then, should I take his life?'"

Evidently, these narratives cannot all be true. Hamilton lived many years after this, and was buried at Crosbie, near Ayr, one of the prettiest and most secluded spots in Ayrshire, in which parish he was owner of the adjoining estate

[1] *Strickland.*

of Fairfield. If an Act of Council was passed in 1592 as stated, it is evident that the story told by Tytler and Strickland, on the authority of the Calderwood MSS., is a fable. Isobel and Alison Sinclair were married respectively to James and David Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, and the Act of Council quoted by Burton, presuming it to be *bonâ fide*, must, we think, be adopted as the foundation on which our opinion must be formed regarding this mixed story. But we shall be asked, Why, then, did Hamilton shoot the regent? He may have done so because of a standing feud that existed between the Hamiltons and Moray which culminated at Langside, where so many of the Hamiltons fell, and for which Moray was solely responsible.

We are further informed that Bothwellhaugh had received many disgraces from the regent, and, amongst others, had been compelled to renounce a piece of land to save his life. He resented the regent's conduct, and vowed to kill him, and the Duke of Hamilton promised to protect him.[1] The principles which governed Moray were detestable. By covering himself with the cloak of religion, he attracted the multitude. He could put in motion every scheme of a profound and

[1] *Herries Memoirs.*

crafty sort, unrestrained by scruples and undeterred by danger.[1] Mary, after Moray's death, discovered that his widow was in possession of her jewels, and she demanded their instant delivery, but that lady refused, knowing that Mary was not in a position to enforce her request. On hearing of the death of Moray, the Earl of Westmoreland, a devoted friend of Mary, testified his joy by throwing his hat in the fire and replacing it by a steel cap. In France and Spain there were great rejoicings, and in Scotland great efforts were made for Mary's restoration.

From a paper in the Hardwicke Collection, describing Moray's assassination, we are informed that it was the work of James Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, "who was forfalt (forfeit) at the Parliament aforesaid." This is another reason for his hatred of Moray, and one not hitherto stated. The paper further informs us that Moray died at eleven o'clock the same night, and thereafter his body was taken to Stirling by three men for burial.[2] It is a curious fact that this paper also states that Moray was told in the morning, before he got out of bed, that he would be assassinated that day in Linlithgow, but he refused to credit the report,

[1] *Stuart.*

[2] Moray's body was taken from Stirling to Edinburgh, and buried in the High Church there.

saying, "there was none that dare do so, for he gave God the cause and hoped in God." Such hypocrisy is much to be condemned. The papers in the Hardwicke Collection, so recently given to the nation (1899), are evidently written by Moray's supporters, who were enemies of the queen. On the 10th of February, Lesley, bishop of Ross, was arrested by Elizabeth's order, and put in the Tower, but was liberated on the 25th of May following. Had Lesley been an enemy of the Queen of Scots there would have been no arrestment.

The following is a pathetic letter from Queen Mary to the Duke of Norfolk, which has been already published[1] :—

Tutbury, January 31, 1570.

Mine own Lord.—I wrote to you before to know your pleasure if I should seek to make any enterprise (escape) ; if it please you, I care not for my danger ; but I wish you would seek to do the like, for if you and I could escape both, we should find friends enough ; and for your lands, I hope they should not be lost, for being free and honourably bound together, you might make such good offers for the countries and the Queen of England as they should not refuse. Our fault were not shameful ; you have promised to be mine and I yours : I believe the Queen of England and country should like of it. By means of friends, therefore, you have sought your

[1] *Strickland.*

liberty, and satisfaction of your conscience, meaning that you promised me you could not leave me. If you think the danger great, do as you think best, and let me know what you please that I do, for I will ever be for your sake perpetual prisoner, or put my life in peril for your weal and mine.

As you please command me, for I will, for all the world, follow your commands, so that you be not in danger for me in so doing. I will, either if I were not by humble submission, and all my friends were against it, or by other ways, work for our liberties so long as I live. Let me know your mind, and whether you are not offended at me; for I fear you are, seeing that I do hear no news from you. I pray God preserve you, and keep us both from deceitful friends.

Your own, faithful to death,

QUEEN OF SCOTS, my Norfolk.

Examination of Alexander Harvey of Aberdeen, taken the 14th of April, 1570, respecting the Bishop of Ross's book, "Defence of the Honour of the Queen of Scots." [1]

1.—First: He saith upon oath that he thinketh he delivered the book, entitled "The Defence of the Honour of the Queen of Scots," to one Wilkinson, and knew it to be delivered unto him.

2. He received the said book of his lord and master, being the Bishop of Ross, about Easter last, and that the book was made twelve months ago by Lord Herries,

[1] State Paper Office.

Lord Boyd, and Lord Ross, and hath remained ever since with Lord Ross, to be amended, translated, or changed as occasion should require.

3. He further saith that Lord Ross desired that the book should be printed, and deponent spake to Wilkinson to have it done.

4. He knoweth no Englishman privy to the printing of the book, except Wilkinson and one Frances Bishop.

5. He being examined why he should peruse a book printed concerning the queen's majesty of this realm without license? answereth that what he did was by the direction of the Bishop of Ross, his master. No communication passed between Wilkinson and him touching the book, but he was told it was the bishop's wish that it should be printed.

This book created great sensation at the time, and almost cost the bishop his life. Very little about it is recorded, so that this letter of his clerk will be of interest to those who follow the narrative closely.

In the State Paper Office there is a communication to Elizabeth, dated April 16th, from Maitland, Herries, Hamilton, Atholl, and a number of Mary's supporters, stating that the cause of their troubles is the two titles of mother and son to the Crown of Scotland. They suggest that her majesty may put an end to the difficulty by entering into honourable conditions with the

Queen of Scots. No notice seems to have been taken of this. The death of Moray, one would have thought, afforded an excellent opportunity to Mary's supporters to take steps for her restoration, but the want of courage was again a fatal obstacle.

Within a few months of Moray's death, a Bull of Pope Pius V. against Elizabeth, proclaiming her an excommunicated heretic, was on the 15th of May affixed to the gate of the Bishop of London's house. This was a bitter pill for Elizabeth to swallow, and to show her resentment she sent Sir William Drury with an armed force from Berwick to Linlithgow to subdue Mary's adherents. Drury, it is reported, was so far successful, that several of the leaders of the opposition took to flight. He was unable, however, to accomplish his mission. A convention of the nobles was held at Dalkeith, when it was proposed that the queen should be brought back to Scotland as the best means of securing tranquillity. It lasted two days, and broke up in disorder when Randolph and Douglas appeared.

At the end of May, Mary was removed from Tutbury to Chatsworth. Here she was visited by Cecil and Mildmay. Cecil was struck with Mary's fascination and the brilliancy of her

intellect, and doubtless felt she was a match for him. She informed him that, although she had had three years of imprisonment, it had not impaired her intellect in the slightest. Cecil proposed that Edinburgh and Dumbarton Castles should be delivered up to Elizabeth, to which Mary replied with an emphatic negative. Cecil submitted the old Treaty of Edinburgh with certain alterations, one being that Mary was not to be debarred from her title to the English Crown, "if God shall not give Elizabeth any issue of her body,"—to which Mary playfully suggested "any lawful issue," which alteration Cecil duly made. Cecil next required her to deliver up Westmoreland. Mary promptly refused, and begged Elizabeth to pardon him; but if not, she would guarantee that, by a given time, he would quit Scotland. Cecil insisted on his surrender, but Mary adhered to her resolution. The next point was the delivery of the infant prince to Elizabeth. To this Mary agreed. She also agreed to a league, offensive and defensive, being established between the two kingdoms, and that all foreign troops be sent out of Scotland within a month. On the signature of this Treaty Commissioners were to be appointed to inquire into the disorders on the marshes, and means taken to punish the murderers of Darnley.

Farther, that she would not contract marriage with an Englishman without Elizabeth's consent, nor with any other without the consent of the Estates of Scotland. As usual, this mission of Cecil came to nought, and nothing more was heard of it. The question, therefore, arises, why was Cecil sent on such a mission, when he must have known it could not but end in failure? Maitland was of opinion that Elizabeth would never, by her own free will, restore to liberty and power a woman she had so irreparably wronged.

There was a conference in Edinburgh of Elizabeth's faction, at which were present Morton, Lindsay, Kirkaldy, Balfour, Macgill, Bellenden, and the two English ambassadors. This conference recommended Lennox as Moray's successor. From Moray's death to the appointment of Lennox was about six months. Elizabeth was wholly responsible for the civil war and bloodshed that ensued. The majority of the Scottish people wished Mary restored, but Elizabeth and Cecil were equally determined she should not. As the historian[1] very truly says, she had induced, by friendly messages and promises of aid, the Queen of Scots to seek a refuge in her dominions, and, in defiance of every principle of honour and

[1] *Hosack.*

humanity, she confined her in prison. At this period an alliance was proposed between Elizabeth and the Duke of Anjou, afterwards Henry III. of France. It is alleged that he made an offer of marriage, and that it was rejected. It led, however, to a friendly understanding between the English and French Courts, and to negotiations for Mary's release. It is recorded by a well-known writer[1] that, had the two factions after Moray's death, the king's party and queen's party, been left to themselves, there can be little doubt that the party of the queen would have triumphed.

The following is an important letter from Queen Mary to the Countess of Lennox:—

"Chatsworth, July 10, 1570.

"MADAME,—If the wrong and false reports of enemies well known as traitors to you, and alas! too much trusted by me, by your advice, had not so far stirred you against my innocence (and I must say against all kindness) that you have not only as it were condemned me wrongfully, but cherished, as your words and deeds have testified to all the world, a manifest misliking against your own blood, I would not have omitted thus long my duty in writing to you, excusing me of those untrue reports made of me, but hoping, with God's grace and time, to have my innocence confirmed, as I trust it is already, even to

[1] *Sir James Marwick.*

the most indifferent persons. I thought best not to trouble you for a time, till now another matter is moved that toucheth us both, which is the transporting of your little son, and my only child, to the which I were never so willing, yet I would be glad to have your advice therein, as in all other things touching him. I have borne him, and God knoweth with what danger to him and to me, and of you he is descended. So I mean not to forget my duty to you in showing therein any unkindness to you, notwithstanding how unkindly you have dealt with me, but will love you as my aunt and respect you as my mother-in-law. And if it please you to know further of my mind, in that and all things betwixt us, my ambassador, the Bishop of Ross, shall be ready to confer with you.

"And so, after my hearty commendations, remitting you to the said ambassador and your better consideration, I commit you to the protection of Almighty God, Whom I pray to preserve you, and my brother Charles, and cause you to know my part better than you do.

"By your loving daughter-in-law.

"To my Lady Lennox, my mother-in-law."

(Endorsed:) "The double of the letter sent by the Queen of Scots to Lady Lennox, July 19, 1570. Delivered to her in the presence of the Queen of England, November 8, 1570."

This letter, though dated July 10th, was not delivered till November 8th, for what reason is not stated. It can only be conjectured, however,

as Mary's letters were treated with great negligence, her attendants (Shrewsbury's servants) knowing well that that treatment would please Elizabeth. The letter is one that cannot be read without emotion. Lady Lennox was at this period entirely under the control of Elizabeth, who poisoned her about Mary. Mary felt the attitude of Lady Lennox acutely, and seemed quite unable to get over it. Lady Lennox, however, lived to see Elizabeth's duplicity and Mary's innocence, and for some years before her death was Mary's most confidential friend.

This month the King of France sent his ambassador, M. de Poigny, to demand Mary's release, but it was a hopeless mission. He had an audience of Elizabeth, but could come to no arrangement. He obtained permission to visit Mary at Chatsworth, where he remained some days with her.

It would appear that, in order to raise an agitation to release the queen, Hamilton, Huntly, and Argyll marched to Edinburgh with a body of troops, and were enthusiastically received by Kirkaldy of Grange; but nothing came of it. Various plans for her escape were suggested, but she felt she was the affianced wife of Norfolk, and she would do nothing without his

consent, and he was against all these. Norfolk was at this date (August 4th) released from the Tower, but was to consider himself a State prisoner at his own house. Elizabeth made him sign a bond, stipulating that he would not prosecute further his suit with the Queen of Scots without her consent. This foolish pledge he afterwards violated. That he had a strong affection for her is beyond doubt. Among the plans for her release, Sir Thomas and Sir Edward Stanley actually provided and long kept a ship at Liverpool for the purpose of taking her to Scotland or France, provided she got out of prison; but Norfolk also opposed this on account of the risk, and asked her to remain where she was for a year or two in the hope that Elizabeth would release her. Vain hope! Such a policy showed a great lack of courage on Norfolk's part.

Maitland, from all accounts, was in a frail state of health at this period. In a letter from Randolph to Cecil it is stated that "his legs were clean gone, his body so weak that it sustaineth not itself, his inward parts so feeble that he cannot endure to sneeze for annoying his whole body." And Randolph humorously adds, "To this the blessing of a young wife has brought him." He had been recently married for the second

time to one of the queen's Maries, Mary Fleming.

On the 6th of August, Maitland wrote Sussex from Blair Atholl defending his conduct in now adhering to the cause of Mary. He said that to sequestrate the queen's person for a season might have been excused, but to keep her all her days in close prison would be intolerable. He knew Elizabeth would not rule her actions by his thinking, but he trusted that she would have regard in her conscience and honour to what would be thought of her conduct by all Christendom. Sussex replied, the Queen of Scots was brought to captivity by him (Maitland) and his faction, and not by Elizabeth. By what doctrine can he think that the causes of their conduct were just then and unjust now: or that subjects may depose or set up princes as the sailor alters the course of his ship? As to his former conduct to the queen, he leaves it to his conscience. Perhaps he dealt openly on the one side and secretly on the other, but if their wishes had been complied with by Elizabeth greater severity would have been used towards their sovereign than any one in England would have thought of.

The following letter affords us a view of the administration of Scotland at this period, and has

an important bearing on Queen Mary's position and prospects. It farther enables us to grasp with greater certainty the general situation as disclosed by Maitland :—

Maitland of Lethington to the Queen of Scots.

Blair Atholl, August 9, 1570.

My last letter was dated on the 6th of July, which I directed by the way of the Countess of Northumberland, and trust your majesty has received it. Since, I have received four letters from your majesty, one of the 6th of June, by the Lord Livingston, one of the 13th of June, one of the 29th of June, and one of the 8th of July.

Lord Livingston having stayed long at Alnwick, and finding no sure convoy to enter at the East Marches, came in by the west borders, on the 4th of July, where he tarried a while, by his advice to see if an assurance might be got that he might safely travel and use his commission, which being plainly refused, he would pass through Galloway to Lord Cassillis, and from his house be sent to Argyle, where he spake with the (Earl of Argyle) and . . . . (?) and with the greatest diligence he might come here on the 20th of July. Since his coming I have written to all your majesty's favourites to assemble in some convenient place, for answering of his instructions and naming of some commissioners to be directed towards the Queen of England, to treat in your majesty's causes, which meeting cannot as yet take place by reason they lie so far apart, and they may not come to any public place without forces, for if they did they would be

a prey to their enemies. And if they assemble forces the Queen of England's minister will interpret it to be for annoyance of the adverse party, and so will take part with them; Sussex has plainly uttered his mind to me, by his own letters, that if they gather forces, he will join his mistress's forces with the contrary faction. So that we are in great pain how to behave ourselves, for without meeting, your message cannot be answered. Meeting with arms may not be, in respect of your order to us, to keep quietness that the Queen of England be not irritated, and thereupon pick a quarrel. And to meet without arms is very dangerous. I have spoken with Sussex by letters, and so has Lord Livingston both with him and Randolph, both by letters and messages to make a truce between the two parties, for a short time, or as long as pleases them to the effect, that the noblemen may meet peaceably, and quietly, which they refuse to do. And in my opinion it is not their desire that the treaty proceed, therefore they will do nothing that may further it, but rather all things that may hinder it. Yet, God willing, within eight days the principals shall meet in a peaceable manner, for I trust they shall be content to come to Dunkeld, which place the principals have already agreed to. I find more difficulty to arrange the meeting than, I trust, there shall be to answer the instructions to your contentment, if they were once convinced; for I hope all men shall be willing to satisfy your mind. Before Lord Livingston, the noblemen had appointed to meet in Leith, on the 7th day of August, and to that effect had prepared forces. But understanding by Lord Livingston's instructions and your ciphers sent to the

principals that your mind is to have quietness kept so that no occasion should be given to the Queen or England, whereby, she might stay her determination and promise of your restriction, they have, since his coming, left off that proposal, and discharged their forces. Whereupon the other side has taken courage, and, so far as I can find, encouraged also by the Queen of England's ministers, are come suddenly within these two days to Angus, with all the forces they can gather, both on horse and foot, on purpose to surprise Lord Ogilvy and Sir James Balfour in Brechin, who, being informed, have escaped and passed to Aberdeen. And yet before their departing manned the (castle) of Brechin and steeple with men-of-war, and furnished them with twelve days' victuals. The report is that the whole force will pass forward to Aberdeen against my Lord L. (Duke). What this shall draw on I know not. I received from Lord Livingston six hundred ryalls, most part of which I have sent to the Laird of Grange, and must not only send the rest, but also make further provision for him. For he is the man of all Scotland in greatest straits, and has been since the English force first came to the borders. He lies far from the support of your favourers and near the forces of all your enemies, with whom he must ever stand upon his guard, and entertain ordinarily a great number of men. He set not his foot forth of the castle of ✠ (Edinburgh), neither he nor Robert Melville these four months. And now, because Lennox has been named regent, he would not at Randolph's desire come to the Tolbooth to hear the proclamation from the Queen of England. Sussex has written a spiteful letter

to him, which is half a letter of defiance, alleging that he lightly regards the Queen of England, to whom he would not do that honour to be present when her minister uttered her mind. And Lennox ♓ (Regent) and that faction would fain be revenged, because he refused to shoot the guns at the time of Lennox's election, and said plainly he neither approved of it nor would acknowledge him as regent. He has not laid any of your jewels in trust, nor will meddle with any of them while an inventory be made in presence of some noblemen and such servants as you will trust, and therefore has borrowed from myself and other friends such golden and silver work as they had to lay in trust for the relief of his present necessities. So that you shall get a good account at his hands to your satisfaction. As for your gowns and moveables, they are all in the Castle of Edinburgh, except a few pieces of tapestry that have always been in Stirling. For immediately before the Englishmen came to Edinburgh, the captain and I caused servants to transport on the sudden, to the castle, the whole tapestry and movables which were in Holyrood, fearing that your enemies at that time should intermeddle with them. . . . Whatever words the Queen of England gives to you, listen not to them, for on my life she means not to enter into any accord with you, and so your adversaries here speak plainly that they know her mind, and it may well appear also by the behaviour of her ministers. Yet always continue, in treating with her, as if you listened to her in everything, and give her words as she does you. So I most humbly kiss your majesty's hand.

(In cipher.)

This letter of Maitland indicates that the queen and he had a very close correspondence at this period, but the transmission of letters was very unsatisfactory, as this one shows. To the queen in the circumstances this uncertainty must have been a source of much pain. Maitland appears to have been resident for a temporary period at Blair Atholl, as all his correspondence at this time is dated from there. None of these letters of the queen are in the State Paper Office, nor do they appear to have found their way into print. The foregoing letter shows that Maitland was suffering from the effects of his treacherous conduct, and now he cannot do too much for the queen. These last three years he had allied himself with Moray and Morton against her. The information in this letter was of the greatest concern to Mary, and his closing advice, "Whatever words the queen of England gives you, listen not to them," was no doubt sincere, but after Maitland's treachery, from the effects of which she was suffering, she would be excused if she received such advice with caution. We learn from this letter that Kirkaldy of Grange, though he fought against the queen at Langside, was at this period a supporter of hers; but his support was of a very elastic nature and could not be relied upon.

The following letter, slightly condensed, is of considerable moment, and throws additional light on the administration of the period :—

Maitland to the Bishop of Ross.

Blair Atholl, August 15, 1570.

Lord Livingston came here on the 20th of July, by whom I received your letters of the 9th of July. I have continually since been endeavouring to have a meeting of the noblemen, so as to propose to Sussex to have a truce between the parties. And by my letter to him of the 22nd of July I offered him a letter subscribed and sealed by the Duke of Argyll, and bearing these articles:— That they should disarm *bonâ fide*. That the royal party should put the Queen of England's rebels from them, or detain them under arrest in surety. That they should send certain sufficient and principal persons of this company to the Queen of England, to open their intentions, causes, and demands, and should keep the peace until the return of these messengers from her. Sussex refused to recognize the articles, and presses not only to have a letter subscribed and sealed by them, bearing the four articles contained in my letter to you of the 17th of July, but also to have sufficient security for the performance of the same. I have answered him that, albeit I might persuade the noblemen to agree the same, yet that cannot be negotiated by me, they being in their own houses and far asunder. If they were assembled together, and desired him to suspend operations for a time, the noblemen might quietly convene, and I should

do good service at their meeting, by causing him to be satisfied as far as was reasonable. This I have pressed by divers letters, and caused Lord Livingston to press it, both by letters and a special messenger. To us both, he has written these six days, giving a plain refusal, that he will neither suspend operations nor permit any assembly of the nobles, if by any means he may stop it. While the nobility have sent him a letter subscribed and sealed, bearing the said four articles, we have published them in Scotland, and delivered in his hands sufficient security for performance thereof. And so soon as he has received the same, he says, he will deal with the lords who profess the *HG* (King or Prince of Scotland's) obedience, to leave off arms, and will subscribe himself, and will procure them to subscribe, to several writings for the performance of the articles accorded between the Queen of England and the lords of Edinburgh. These are the very words of his answer, which I think so captious, so imperious, and so unjust dealing, that I cannot tell what to make of it. Besides that, I know nought of your mind touching the last two articles of the four, if it were thought good to subscribe and seal a letter bearing the whole; yet it is dangerous and unreasonable to deliver hostages for the performance of the same, which I am sure he understands by the words, "sufficient security," for otherwise the subscribing and sealing of the letter is sufficient security. And sure I am the noblemen will find it very hard to deliver hostages upon the two last articles, which are both very prejudicial. It were as though, when he has got from us what he can require, reasonable and unreasonable,

then shall we have to crave at his hands, and receive what it shall please him to give us. I pray you consider this kind of dealing, and remonstrate with the *Q* (Queen of England) and her Council, that this is not the form observed between realm and realm. Securities on both sides should proceed *pari passu*, and matters should pass by way of treaty, and not the one side to preserve to the other a form that pleases them, as if it were a prince prescribing a rule to his subjects. In good faith, I cannot digest this kind of dealing, and it breaks my heart to see us at this point, that *W* (England) may give us such law as she will. In my other letters I have not answered yours of the 9th of June, because it came not to my hands till the 20th of July. At the convention of the lords which, God willing, shall be in this country within eight days, in despite of all them that would stay it, I shall do according to your direction, wherein I doubt nothing so much as to find any noblemen to come into England as commissioners, and I fear it will be very hard to find men to do so. I have been in hand various times with Athol for it, whose mind I find as good as I could wish. He will neither spare trouble nor expense nor other things that lie in his power to do the *B* (Queen of Scots) service. And specially for her relief and restitution, if he might be assured that his passing there should bring it to pass. . . .

Warn Thomas Cowy to beware if he comes to Scotland, for I am informed that ♓ (the regent) and his band have intercepted some letters he has sent to me, and are ill set to him. I have received your letters of the 23rd of July. Where you write that

they make excuse of Lord Livingston's stay, and lay the blame on himself; assuredly they do manifest injury. He was detained at Alnwick eighteen days against his will. Sussex would not assure him further than to convey him safely to Haddington, which he knew was to put him in a "girn" to be taken! Nor yet when Lord Livingston required him to put him safely to Fernihurst or Buccleuch would he allow him to do so. And in the end, when he permitted him to pass by the west borders, he was detained four days in Carlisle, when he was with ∃ . He wrote to Randolph. What answer he sent you may perceive by the letter which I send you herewith, which I think you may show to the Queen of England and her council, for I think the words of it scandalous. I have taken orders for recovering of his, Nicholas's, letters, and others that were written the last year to ·X· , which I hope to obtain, so that there shall be no danger of any uneasiness to them by that event. That that the Queen of England said to the French ambassador of the (Duke of Argyll's) writing sent her, was not true. He has not written one letter to her since this matter began. That that she takes for her foundation to "sing decent or plain songs" is a letter the Duke of Argyll and ⋎⋎ wrote to me, which I sent to Sussex, declaring that albeit there was great friendship created among them by Englishmen, accompanied with Scotch traitors, yet they would set their own business aside where there was a question of the Queen of Scots' service: and for promoting her cause, would not refuse to keep quietness in Scotland and direct the Queen of England to treat in the Queen

of Scots' matters. This is the most that ever was written. There is yet no support come to ♇ (Dumbarton), therefore I pray you to hasten it, because it is said that Dumbarton is the principal place of receipt of the Queen of England's rebels. I can answer for it that there has not been one man of that nation within it these three months. I have inquired at Robert Melville touching the letters he wrote to Sir Nicholas, which he says were purposely written to be shown to the Queen of England, because you had written to me to cause him to come in to England with the commissioners, and that I was discredited by Randolph and others as they had done the like to him.

When you write that the Queen of England gives you good words, you do well to profess to believe her, and to hope for goodness at her hand. But on my peril, in your heart trust never a word she speaks, for you shall find all plain craft, without true meaning, always continue in the treaty, while her false witness appears of itself. Where you desire my opinion, what is to be answered to her demands of the prince, some of the nobility (she wants) for hostages, and the ♇ of ♇ (the castle or town of Dumbarton): The Queen of Scots is in the Queen of England's hands, and I think she intends never to part with her, and therefore to satisfy other princes, proposes the harder conditions which she thinks will be refused. It is for the Queen of Scots hard to deliver her son in England, and it is hard for Scotland to have its principal strength in the hands of England; yet, rather than the Queen of Scots should remain a prisoner, the conditions

cannot be so hard that I could not take steps to recover her liberty: for if that point were once compassed, other things may be helped forward with time. It is well for the Queen of Scots to make difficulty that the prince be delivered in England, because it will let the people of Scotland see that she is careful of him, and it convicts her enemies as manifest liars who give out the contrary. Yet I see no danger, neither for the preservation of his person, nor for any peril to the Queen of Scots herself, by setting him up against her, that I would advise her to refuse it, if the Queen of England will no ways agree without that point. You know that those who are enemies to her title in England would rather destroy her person than his, because he is but a bairn, and his succession is far off. So long as she is safe, I think they will never destroy him; besides that, having interest to the title after her, his *nourritur amangis* (?) that shall further it with the people. And while it may be feared that they will set him up against herself, it is not to be feared that the Queen of England will consent to set him up in England so long as she lives. In Scotland she has better means now to do so than she will have again. Then, besides that, if she were once at liberty, I fear not but means would be found to make both England and Scotland unwilling to fight against her. I speak to this end that any way let her liberty be procured, whatever the conditions be. Press it the best you can. But if we fail we must accept the worst. As I write of the prince I mean as much of Dumbarton. It is not that Dumbarton in England's hands will more thirl Scotland to England, nor Berwick may do without Dumbarton, nor yet may

Dumbarton keep Frenchmen or strangers out of Scotland if the Queen of Scots desire them in it. Leith, any part of Fife, Dundee, Aberdeen, and briefly all the coast of Scotland will serve their turn as well as Dumbarton can do. It is always convenient to yield to as little as you can, until it is come to the *finale* that you must either grant or want your intent. Then my opinion is, you yield to all rather than she remain a prisoner, because I think her life always in danger *in medio nationis pravæ*. . . .

You say in your letter that in your former one, which I have not received, you write a secret proposal touching the Queen of Scots' escape. I pray you beware on that point, for I would rather be content to be banished from Scotland all my life, than having the Queen of Scots obtain her liberty without the Queen of England's consent. I dare not advise her majesty to press this. She must be well assured there be no kind of danger in the executing of her enterprise, for I fear deadly the craft of her enemies, who will not stick to set out proposals themselves; to make her majesty offers to convoy her away, and let her see probability so as to give her courage to take it in hand, and, they being privy to it, to trap her in a snare, and so to execute against her person their wicked intentions, which now, for shame of the world and fear of other princes, they dare not do, she being in their own hands. I know not what the proposal is. Save her life whatever you do, and sure I am God with time shall bring other things to pass to our satisfaction; but that point lost can never be recovered, and then all is gone.

This is one of the most important letters that Maitland wrote in the course of his life. Its reasonable, and liberal, and firm tone are conspicuous, and his devotion to the queen sincere. The seizure of the great fortress of Edinburgh Castle was the object of Sussex, the English general, and he was determined to carry his mission at the point of the bayonet. It was here that Maitland eventually lost his life. His proposals for a temporary suspension of hostilities so as to adjust disputes were thrown aside by Sussex as utterly futile *per se*, but he was willing, if they were subscribed by the nobles and security for their performance deposited, to accept the same. Maitland declined to do this, and Sussex thereupon adopted stringent measures, and prevented the Scottish nobles having any meeting whatever. But it would appear that the nobility did subscribe to four articles, and sent them to him in writing; and they also delivered security for their performance, but his reply, which Maitland gives, is unsatisfactory, or, as Maitland says, "captious, imperious, and unjust." Maitland objected to hostages because of the difficulty in finding them. But the exacting nature of Sussex would not stop there, for, after he had got all that, "we shall have to crave at his hands, and receive what it shall

please him to give us;" so says Maitland, who pointed out the impossibility of accepting the terms of Sussex. The Earl of Atholl was at this date a loyal supporter of the queen, but he was not prepared to go to England as a commissioner unless he had some assurance that he would succeed. If he did not succeed he would never return to Scotland. He was a man of great activity, and though Maitland desired the Bishop of Ross to write to him and persuade him to go, it does not appear that he went. It was not long after this that he was poisoned by the Regent Morton, while resident at Kincardine Castle. Dumbarton Castle was an important stronghold, being the place where Elizabeth's troops landed, and Maitland was anxious that troops in Mary's interest should be sent there, but that was impossible in view of the siege of Edinburgh Castle. We have here a most important disclosure, viz. that Robert Melville's letters to Throgmorton were written to please the Queen of England—"they were purposely written to be shown to her." They were not necessarily truthful letters, presumably they were incorrect and misleading, and this point should not be lost sight of in criticizing communications sent from Scotland to Elizabeth. Maitland solemnly warns the Bishop of Ross against Elizabeth

—"Trust never a word she speaks, for you shall find all plain craft without true meaning." This is a deplorable account of the character of Elizabeth, coming from an experienced statesman like Maitland; and, unfortunately, it is only too true, as her treatment of the Queen of Scots testifies. Maitland frankly confesses that the Queen of Scots is in Elizabeth's hands, and that Elizabeth intends "never to part with her." He was a true prophet, for she kept her seventeen years after this date.

Elizabeth was anxious that Mary's son should be delivered to her, and for obvious reasons: she would then administer the affairs of Scotland; but Maitland approved of Mary opposing this. The opposition in his opinion would convict her enemies as "manifest liars who gave out the contrary." Notwithstanding this, Maitland was of opinion that the child should be given up to Elizabeth, if it would bring about Mary's release—"her liberty should be procured whatever the conditions be." And he very nobly says to the bishop, "You yield to all rather than she should remain a prisoner." He had no faith in the safety of her life so long as she was in captivity. The bishop had unlimited powers to treat with Elizabeth, "the party shall be made to do whatever you prescribe." Words could not be plainer or

more intelligible, nor could any man have been more devoted to the Queen of Scots than the Bishop of Ross. The proposed escape of the queen, Maitland was not sure about, on account of the danger. He would be content to be banished from Scotland all his life rather than the queen make her escape without Elizabeth's consent, but he is very suspicious that, in place of releasing the queen, it might be a plot of her enemies to decoy her into a trap. In this Maitland was not far wrong. There were so many spies and traitors surrounding Mary, and all in the pay of Elizabeth, that Maitland's cautious words were very *apropos*. And he eloquently adds, "Save her life whatever you do, and sure I am God with time shall bring all other things to pass, but that point lost can never be recalled, for then all is gone."

At this time commissioners arrived from Scotland from the Hamiltons, Argyll and Huntly to move Elizabeth (but in vain) to set Mary at liberty and restore her to her realm and authority. There is a State paper of date September 18th, supposed to have been from Lennox to Cecil, giving a list of Scottish nobles on the sides severally of the king and queen, with the names of their wives and particulars of their antecedents, as regards their attachment to the cause of the queen. From

this promise. It was a mere blind to get quit of the ambassador. Her policy was not unlike that of Pharaoh—when she made a promise to let the Queen of Scots go, she afterwards repented, and would not. To effect Mary's release nothing short of an armed force would avail, and it is surprising her supporters did not adopt this method.

Mary was very much concerned about her affairs in Scotland, and the great annoyance her people were subjected to by the frequent incursions of the English. She had been requested to give up her son to Elizabeth, and she therefore wrote the Pope for his advice. This letter is in the Lansdowne Collection, and does not appear to have been published before. It is of considerable importance as indicating her state of mind and the condition of Scotland at this date. Elizabeth is referred to as that "most cruel tyrant," who had reduced her to the lowest state of humanity, or, as she puts it, "to this so great infelicity," and she reminds his holiness that she is constantly encompassed with peril, and with ceaseless trouble and labour. She bitterly confesses that those who had engaged to help her had failed. She goes on to say—

At the same time you will not cease your offices and endeavours with all Christians, engaging them to enter

Carberry Tower Portrait.
In the possession of Lord Elphinstone.

into the strictest alliance, and not to spare either vigilance, expense, or labour, once to bring down that most cruel tyrant who is continually breathing out war and destruction against Christendom. And would to God my circumstances answered my will! Your holiness should see the intention by the effect, which should be that not only I, but all my subjects, with a strength of mind equal to that of their body, should in concert with all other Christians make their utmost in so good a design. But alas! what condition in the world more sad and deplorable than to see me, of a happy queen, as I could lately have called myself, fallen at present into this so great infelicity! What more grievous affliction than of a mistress to become a slave! Yet, as an accession to this misery, my country is involved in so great calamities, ravaged and oppressed by so many incursions of the *English* that many cities have been set on fire, many castles and beautiful churches beaten to the ground, and, what is worse, the inhabitants, my subjects, without giving the least offence, have been most cruelly put to the sword. But what? Shall I say nothing of myself in particular? Or is it not clear to all the world with what various perils I am continually encompassed? I call God to witness, who knows in what extremity of ceaseless trouble I labour, and am almost spent! And what increases the rage and violence of this storm, the persons who had engaged to enter into measures for my interest have wholly failed, without giving me the least succour or relief. Nor do I hope for any from them, unless the present humours, which seem moved a little in my favour, shall take a turn agreeable to such an enterprise. But to say the truth,

if succours should be really put together, and the stoutest army raised beyond sea, yet can they not be transported without great danger in the winter season, when the ocean is wont to be exceedingly troubled and tempestuous. Whereas the *English*, on the other hand, who are not divided from the *Scots* by any river that can stop them, are able in winter as well as in summer to invade their neighbouring nation, and, upon the least occasion of discord, are wont actually to begin their hostilities. Obliged by these reasons, especially without the utmost hazard of my person and of my country, I can no way decline the making a peace with the *English*, how much soever to my disadvantage, yet still (as we used to say) with a reserve to my honour and conscience. Of which, honour relates to the outward administration of civil government, and conscience is a sort of divine form and force given to men for guiding all their actions to a good end; which, however, at present it seems pressed and straitened by calamities, yet neither by threats nor promises shall even be driven or divided from the communion and obedience of the holy Catholic Church. But among other unfortunate circumstances, I will mention one to your holiness, which indeed is most bitter and severe, which is that, as the terms now stand between us, it is demanded that I should give up my dear and only son, the heir of my kingdom, as an hostage into the hands of the English, yet retaining the power of assigning him what governors or counsellors I shall think fit, as also of free access to him, not for myself only, but for all those whom I shall please to send into *England* to visit him. Nor shall even this give your holiness any reason to doubt

but that he is like to prove of a holy disposition and virtuous manners, and likewise (though he will have to do with an ill people) a sound member of the Holy Catholic Church, and ready always to help and defend it. But that I may not draw out this letter to an undue length, I hasten to its conclusion, having yet resolved with myself to acquaint your holiness, as well with all the matters that are now in agitation between me and this court, as with all other occurrences of note that shall happen. And because it is very difficult to communicate everything in writing, I have for this reason fully informed the Bishop of Dunblane of all my affairs, as one that has always been my true and faithful servant, to whom I desire your holiness would be pleased to give credit in all things that he shall transact with you in my name.

From Chatsworth, the last day of October, 1570,

Your holiness's most devout servant,

MARY REGINA.

The following official paper records the examination of Hameling by Sir Francis Knollys and Sir William Cecil, respecting Northumberland's attempt to release the queen by stratagem :—

Francis Moore, after Hameling's going away, was the medium betwixt the Queen of Scots and Northumberland.

On the way between Ripon and Wetherby, the Queen of Scots sent a ring of gold enamelled, by Hameling to Northumberland, requiring him to remember his promise.

He was first commanded by Northumberland within three weeks after the queen first came to Bolton, that he should tell her that he had a goodly gelding for her, and that she should have his service in anything that he could do for her. Whereupon he told John Livingstone; and, within a day afterwards, he was brought to the queen being a hunting in the park; who desired him to thank Northumberland, but she lacked no horse, and would not have any of him, for fear of suspicion. And within a day after that, the Lord Stirling did deliver to him a ring with a diamond for Northumberland, and a pair of beads of gold and perfume for the countess, which were sent by the pope to the queen; and a letter also from the queen to the earl. And within one or two days he returned to the Queen of Scots with a letter, and a jewel of gold that was given to the countess by a Spaniard in Queen Mary's time, and a ring of gold with a little table diamond from the countess; which the queen said should never go off her ring finger. The Queen of Scots caused John Livingstone's wife to deliver him a fair tier of lawn for the head, with all things belonging, to be carried to the countess; and a letter to Northumberland, also answers to the Queen of Scots by letters from the earl. None were privy to these messages but Heckington; saying that Christopher Norton would tell him, that he knew by his father, that he did deal between the Queen of Scots and the earl. At one time when he brought a letter from the queen, Northumberland demanded of him how many horsemen would be required to carry her away. He was desired by the earl to demand of the queen, whether she was

sure of the Nortons or not; and she said that she was fully assured of them. Francis Moore did, this last summer, bring to the earl a chain of silver and enamel, small, but so long as it would go about one's neck a dozen times; which the countess did also then wear about her neck.

When the queen lay at Wingfeld, and Shrewsbury was at the Baths, Northumberland determined to have released her, and if she had not been removed, she had been carried away. The earl being advised by letter that she was removed, sent Hameling to Leonard Dacres: who chaffed sore at it, and said, if he had herein dealt with the countess as he did with the earl, it had not missed. At this speech was Francis Moore, who had been long with Leonard Dacres. He went a little before the rising to Dacres, to meet the earl at Skipton Moor, where met there the earl, the Earl of Westmoreland, Dacres, Tempest, Francis Norton, Richard Norton; where they continued almost three hours under a hedge. Northumberland had no more with him but this examinat and a page, and Westmoreland had only two or three. When the earls were upon a moor within three miles of Branspeth, before the rising, there came a young bishop from the Queen of Scots, with letters in cipher, of which the bishop told this to Hameling. "That, where the earls had demanded of the Scottish queen thirty thousand crowns, they should have a greater sum; and that they should lack no men. But she advised them to abstain for a time from rising, and yet to keep themselves strong." He said that Captain Reid once bade him take heed, for he was suspected that

he was a dealer betwixt the Queen of Scots and Northumberland; and that Sir Francis Knollys had him in suspicion. Three weeks before the rebellion, J. Lowther came to Topcliff, when the two earls were there. He said that the setting up of the mass was meant to provoke the people; but the principal reason was to put the Queen of Scots to liberty, and as he thinketh, to make her Queen of England. Havers came to the two earls in Topcliff Park from the Duke of Norfolk, desiring them not to rise, for, if they did, the duke should be in danger.

Written by me,
W. Burghley (A.D. 1570).

This is an incident which has not been made much of by historians; but this examination by Cecil and Knollys shows that it was a deliberate and well-considered scheme on the part of Northumberland to release Mary and make good her escape; and of such importance as to call for the intervention of Elizabeth's prime minister. The whole arrangements were completed by a devoted band under Northumberland, and would undoubtedly have succeeded.

The Duke of Norfolk was at Wingfield at this time, paying his respects to the queen, and doubtless discussing their marriage. Evidently he was not a man of the determination of character of Northumberland, otherwise he would

have concurred in the scheme for the queen's release. At his request it was postponed, and presumably for no other reason than his own safety.

Queen Mary's jewels form the subject of a separate chapter, but the following characteristic letter on the subject we cannot exclude from our narrative :—

Countess of Moray to Cecil.

My very good Lord,—After my hearty commendation my present state, full of extreme care and heaviness, forces me, through the love and favour shown in times past to my late husband the Regent of Scotland, who rests with God, in all his honest and lawful affairs, to apply to your honour as one no less helpful to the utmost of your power regarding his poor orphans and me, their mother. I seek your mediation at the queen's majesty your mistress's hands, as far as in your power. There are some three parties here (my husband's very extreme and deadly enemies during his days, and my small friends and my orphans' for his cause), disturbers of the quietness of the king's grace, who by their privy letters at the queen of Scotland's hands (of Huntly, I mean) have sought of me certain jewels in great number (whereof I never knew), belonging to the said queen, as they allege. I hope the queen's majesty, your mistress, will be unto me and my bairns no less helpful in all our honest undertakings as she was unto him who now

rests with God. And therefore I most humbly require your honour to be a suitor at the queen's majesty for me and my children, that it may please her to cause our queen write tenderly and familiarly in our favour unto the Earl of Huntly, charging him not to trouble me and my bairns in our homes and heritages, or any writ made of way for any of the said jewels, goods, or gear that appertains to our said queen. I shall be at all times answerable for so many of the said jewels as shall be justly shown to be in my hand. And suchlike that it may please her majesty that I may have her favourable letters to the present regent, recommending me and my children unto his protection, that he would in no ways trouble me or my bairns for any portion of the said jewels, goods, or gear that appertained to our said queen, intromitted with or taken up by my husband during his regency, or suffer any to trouble me for the same, so far as he may know. All such goods and gear and jewels that appertained to our queen, wherewith my husband meddled, were bestowed upon the affairs of the public estate of his country, and furtherance of the king's grace his sovereign's service, as the particulars thereof during his regency will prove. I have more suits in particular at the queen's majesty your mistress's hands to be furthered wherewith presently I will not further importune you. I desire your lordship to present this my humble petition to the queen's majesty. For the present, I commit your honour to the eternal protection of God, and bid you farewell.

From Dunnottar, November 2, 1570.

AGNES KEITH.

Another scheme to liberate Mary was formulated by Sir Henry Percy, brother of Northumberland. It was arranged that Mary should escape through a window of Chatsworth House; but the scheme fell through, on account of an unexpected event, the seizure of Dumbarton Castle, which contained a small garrison of her friends. The garrison were panic-stricken at the sight of the enemy (who scaled the walls), and made no resistance. Lord Fleming managed to escape down the face of the well-known perpendicular rock, jumped into a fishing-boat, and got out of reach. Lady Fleming was generously treated, and allowed to go free with her plate and furniture. John Hamilton, archbishop of St. Andrews, was amongst the prisoners, and was hanged and quartered at Stirling, by order of Lennox, on the plea that he was accessory to the murders of Darnley and Moray. The archbishop was a natural son of James Hamilton, first Earl of Arran. This event enabled Lennox to get several of Mary's private letters in which she asked for assistance, so as to get out of prison. These letters were sent to Cecil. A monthly taxation was imposed for three months, in the Western District, to defray the expenses of this siege.[1]

[1] *Marwick.*

Sir Henry Percy's scheme was afterwards discovered, and Mary was at once removed to Sheffield. She was first taken to the manor house, where she remained some time before she was removed to the castle. The place, however, did not suit her, and she grew very infirm in health. Lesley, bishop of Ross, brought two physicians from London, and their prescriptions greatly improved her. She had much to vex her. Lennox, for instance, had undertaken the education of her son, and he was so coarse and injudicious as to train the child to hold his mother in disrespect by the use of filthy and dishonest words when he spoke of her. Mary wrote to Elizabeth to put a stop to this, but she got no answer. George Buchanan was appointed tutor, because he was her enemy. Mary remonstrated with Elizabeth about this, but in vain. At this period Lady Livingstone was sent to Scotland by Mary with letters and despatches for Kirkaldy of Grange, Maitland, and others. She got a pass from Elizabeth, for no ordinary messenger was safe to carry such letters, and would have lost his life had he been intercepted. Lady Livingstone, however, passed to Scotland unmolested, and after fulfilling her mission she returned to Sheffield.

Shortly after this, a new source of grief occurred to Mary. Some of her friends in Scotland had intercepted letters written by Randolph to the regent, and Leicester suggested that she should be poisoned. These letters were sent to her. She requested Fénelon to lay them before Elizabeth, with a remonstrance, and to send copies to the King of France, inviting his assistance. Randolph denied that he wrote the letters ; but Mary would not accept his denial, as she knew his handwriting too well. Considering the friendship that existed between Mary and Randolph, this treacherous act was infamous, and identifies him with the brutality of that period. Lennox was also a determined enemy of hers, and one of his acts was to ratify the secret treaty between Moray and Elizabeth for the delivery of Mary in exchange for Northumberland, on the understanding that she was to be tried and executed six months after her arrival in Scotland. This was to be carried out with the co-operation of Mar, who afterwards became regent.

Cecil was this year created Lord Burleigh. Whether this honour had anything to do with his persecution of Mary is not stated. In this persecution he and Elizabeth were in full sympathy, but how far he was dominated by her or how

far he was convinced of Mary's innocence must remain a mystery. We know that in his interviews with Mary he behaved as a man who believed in her innocence.

The following is a communication from Lord Herries, hitherto unpublished, to the Commissioners of the Queen of Scots in England :—

Terregles, March 22, 1571.

May it please your honours, the state of this troublesome country is at present so bad, and so far from your expectation, that we who continue our obedience to the queen our sovereign . . . all who obey the queen, will be heard or else we may come forward with forces to resist. These forces are not to be judged the cause, for they dare not disobey, if they have not, as is supposed, greater help than we know, I trust this is not unknown to you. The money they got before the Earl of Morton's departure has caused them to go to Paisley, where they, without any cause for keeping of their master's house, have hanged nine able men, Hamiltons and others, and hold divers of the rest of them in extreme pressure. Thereafter the Earl of Lennox, accompanied with the paid men, came to me, declaring that he would destroy the Earl of Cassillis and his whole following. For avoiding which Cassillis was constrained to enter himself in ward in Stirling. So Lennox with his faction, with the assistance and aid, as is thought, they got from England, may well move Lords Craven and Eglinton to obey them. He has also sent proclamations charging Galloway to come and

obey him by the 23rd of this month, otherwise they would pursue them with fire and sword, which will be hard for them to resist, lest we should concur with them. Copy of his proclamation I herewith send you, and have thought it necessary plainly to declare that if there be no immediate steps taken there will be few or none left in the lowlands of any strength. My lords believe this to be true, and wish you to provide a remedy if you can; but it is greatly doubted, and firmly believed by all men of judgment that you will never get any good out of your treaty unless to make our enemies to be obeyed, which I pray God it prove not so in deed. There are reports here that England is prepared to send some forces into Scotland; but that comes from the other party, and we believe is not true. Morton would say to you the good obedience has done the other party wrong: obey the queen's commandment. In this movement they have never done anything that the laws of the realm will not allow.

Looking earnestly for your proceedings, and praying Almighty God with my weary heart that these may be to His glory, our master's comfort, and common weal,

I am, etc.,
HERRIES.

This letter gives us a view of the administration of Lennox, and shows what sort of regent he was. It was meant to warn the commissioners of the disgraceful state of the country under the regent. According to Herries, he ordered

nine able men, Hamiltons and others, to be hanged at Paisley. Lennox paid the penalty for this, and for the murder of the archbishop. A few months afterwards the Hamiltons were the principal actors in his assassination at Stirling. That Lord Herries had a "weary heart," in the face of all these troubles, is not to be wondered at.

We give the following communication from Queen Mary to the Earl of Morton, which is one of the very few letters she ever wrote to that traitor :—

Sheffield, March 30, 1571.

We have understood by Lord Boyd of what good mind you were before your coming to this country, and that you would satisfy us in all things by your sympathy in our cause—as betwixt the queen our good sister and us. Also we have heard from the Bishop of Ross, that such good faith is found in you, even since your coming here, of your former inclination and remembrance of duty towards us, whereby we might the rather be moved to hear of your reconciliation. We have taken occasion, therefore, to write to you, that if you will show yourself willing (as seems to us you do) to confess your offences bypast, and crave our pardon therefor, and also in time coming to amend towards us, in living as a true, faithful, and obedient subject, you may be sure to have our hearty pardon, benevolent and good favour. For seeing the queen our good sister is of that loving mind through conscience and equity deliberately to restore us to our

crown and realm, and to make an agreement betwixt us and our subjects, that have departed from their obedience, we can well find in our heart to set aside all the evils, griefs, unnatural extortions and displeasures committed against us, and be content to remit the same graciously to every one individually. Providing that they first acknowledge their faults, and crave (as becomes them to do) our pardon, so that in time coming they continue in their bounden duty (to God and the world) to our service as faithful, true, and loving subjects. You and the most of them have had good experience of our merciful dealing and clemency, yet, praised be God, these qualities are not extinguished in our heart, and this should satisfy you (if you do return to us and go about to deserve our favour), that you shall lack no reasonable assurance thereof. We have commanded our ambassador to communicate with you, so that after we hear of your further proceeding with him, you shall have by him further proof of our good will, whom you shall credit as from us. What he does promise in our name, that will we be ready to fulfil. And so we commit you to God.

MARIE R.

What Morton's reply was we do not know, but his subsequent conduct indicates that he did nothing to reconcile himself to the Queen of Scots. Mary's letter is noble and generous—more so than the circumstances warranted, for Morton was her greatest enemy. Along with Moray he was the instigator of all her calamities,

beginning with Riccio's murder. She was, however, quite prepared to forgive him for all his bad conduct, if he would admit his fault and return to his allegiance. But, instead of doing so, he allied himself with her enemies, her rebellious subjects.

The rude and barbarous practices of the age were conspicuous. Spies were in every quarter, and woe betide the man who was caught by a spy. On one occasion this year, the Bishop of Ross was having a book printed at Flanders in defence of the queen. He could not with safety to his life get it done in Scotland. Baillie, one of his secretaries, was returning from Flanders, and was arrested at Dover with all his papers, but we are informed that the bishop contrived to get these exchanged for papers of no importance. Baillie was committed to the Tower, put upon the rack, and confessed that, while on the Continent, he had assisted to decipher two despatches, one to Queen Mary, and the other from her to Spain, and that they were in the hands of the Bishop or Ross. This led to the arrest of the bishop, and he was subjected to a sharp examination by Elizabeth's ministers. He defended himself with much ability, and expressed no regret whatever for anything he had done, which he said was all

within the line of his duty as ambassador to the Queen of Scots. He was, however, still detained in prison, which was an illegal proceeding, as they could prove nothing against him. The bishop was threatened with the rack, and he admitted all that had been projected in favour of the queen. Elizabeth now intimated to the French ambassador that she would never liberate Mary, as she would not have an hour of peace if Mary was on the throne. The Bishop of Ross afterwards wrote Mary a letter from the Tower; and, having the appearance of being written by compulsion, a fact which she was not slow to notice, she replied, that it was in Esau's hand but Jacob's voice, and that she would not write him while he was in prison.

The intercepting of letters and special messengers continued to be carried on, and brought many of Mary's friends to grief. At this date (August) Mary had a large sum of money in her possession, and she gave it to George Douglas to take into Scotland to assist the garrison of Edinburgh Castle, but, having no passport, he consulted Norfolk what to do. Norfolk entrusted it to a carrier named Brown, addressed to Banister, his steward at Shrewsbury, who had instructions to deliver it to Lord

Herries. Brown, who is supposed to have been a spy of Burleigh's, gave it to Burleigh with the letters accompanying it; and the result was that Norfolk, on the 7th of September, was again put in the Tower. He was betrayed by his own servants, who, on the rack, told all they knew. The discovery of the letters accompanying the money raised new ideas of tyranny in the mind of Elizabeth. She instructed Shrewsbury to be very strict in his guardianship of Mary, to restrict her liberty, and to remove all servants permanently from her, except ten men and six women. Mary made an indignant speech to Shrewsbury, pointing out the despotism of Elizabeth, but it was of no avail. Shrewsbury then requested her to name the sixteen she would keep, but she declined to do so. "All had forsaken their families and country to follow her fallen fortunes and share her hardships in the house of bondage," and with much delicacy of feeling she refused to name any in preference to the others. All her servants except ten were dismissed by Shrewsbury without her consent. She wrote to the French ambassador, Fénelon, that, looking to the treatment she was receiving she could expect nothing but death. To her attached and devoted servants who were driven from her

she wrote the following touching farewell address :—

"My Faithful and Good Servants—Seeing it has been the will of God to visit me with much adversity, and now with this rigorous imprisonment and banishment of you my servants from me, I render thanks to the same God who has given me patience to endure it, and pray this good God that He will give you the like grace, and that you will be consoled, since your banishment is for the good service you have performed for me, your princess and mistress: for at least you will be greatly honoured for having given so good proof of your fidelity at such a time of need; and when it shall please the good God to restore me to liberty I shall never be wanting to any of you, but will remember you all according to my ability. For the present I have written to my ambassador for your sustenance, not having it in my power to do better for you, as I could wish. And now, at your departing, I charge you all, in the name of God and for my blessing, that you be good servants of God, and not to murmur against Him for any affliction that may befall you, for thus He visits His own. I recommend to you the faith in which you have been baptized and instructed in my company, having remembrance that out of the ark of Noah there is no safety; and even as you made no profession of service to any other princess than me alone, so I beseech you make confession with me of one God, one Faith, one Catholic Church, as the greater number of you have already done. And especially you who have been newly recalled from your errors, seek

to be more perfectly instructed and grounded in the faith, and pray God to give you constancy in the same, for to such God will never deny His grace. And for you, Master John Gordon and William Douglas, I implore God by His Holy Spirit to inspire your hearts with that in which I could not more prevail." And referring to her friends—"If I die I shall only regret not having the means to recompense their services and the troubles they have endured in my quarrel; but I hope, if it should be so, that God will not leave them unrewarded. Finally, if I have not been so good a mistress to you as your necessities required, God is my witness that the good will has never been wanting in me, but the means: and if I have seemed hard in my reproofs to any of you, God knows that it has been with the intention of doing you good, not from any want of affection. I pray you to console yourselves in God. And you, William Douglas, be assured that the life you hazarded for mine will never be neglected while I have a friend living. Do not part company till you are at the Court of France, but go all together to my ambassador there, and declare to him all you have seen and heard of me and mine. I pray God, from the depth of an afflicted heart, to be according to His infinite mercy the protector of my country and of my faithful subjects, and that He will pardon those who have committed so many outrages against me, and move their hearts to a prompt penitence, that we may conform ourselves to his pleasure.

"MARIE R."

It would appear that Lord and Lady Livingstone

were ordered to leave Sheffield as well as the expelled servants. This was a great trial to Mary, as Lord and Lady Livingstone had resolved to live and die with her. Under their roof at Callender House Mary had spent many happy days. Another traitor turned up at this period, a French ambassador named De Foix. He knew Mary's cipher, and deciphered to Burleigh some of her intercepted letters. Mary was desirous to write openly and without reserve to her son, and wrote Elizabeth for her permission, but it was promptly refused. It is unlikely that any other woman in the world would have refused such a pathetic request in the circumstances.

We are informed that Sir Thomas Smith wrote Burleigh begging release from the diabolical office of rack tormentor ; he could stand the horrid sight no longer. The wonder is that an insurrection did not get up to dethrone Elizabeth, and put Cecil in the Tower. That was eminently called for, as the executions already referred to, and the torturing of innocent persons on the rack, were unpardonable. We need not condemn the French Revolution when we have had such cold-blooded murders at our own doors. Mary was cruelly treated by Elizabeth at Sheffield. Her surgeon was not allowed access to her without

Elizabeth's consent; and medicines, prescribed by him to improve her health, were actually refused by the English Queen. Her letters were intercepted, and her jailers became more stringent and exacting. In August of this year there is a curious entry in the Hardwicke Papers:—

"In the mean time there was an assembly of ministers at Stirling, where it was concluded that no minister should pray in his sermon for the queen. They found fault with the Bishop of Galloway at Edinburgh because he prayed for the queen. 'Against the which act John Craig, minister, opposed those against; and alleged that all manner of persons ought to be prayed for. Wherefore he was holden in great hatred.'"

The great event of this year (1571) was the fall of Lennox, who, on the 3rd of September, was mortally wounded at Stirling. Kirkaldy of Grange was his determined enemy, and, understanding that Lennox and the nobles were at Stirling, he resolved to surprise them. He did not command this expedition in person, or the result would have been different. It was entrusted to Huntly, Lord Claude Hamilton, and Scott of Buccleuch. They arrived in Stirling about four o'clock in the morning, and immediately surrounded the houses of the nobles, and took them prisoners. There

was practically no resistance, all being captured, including Lennox, who was captured in bed; Morton, Argyll, Glencairn, Eglinton, Cassillis, Sempill, Cathcart, and Ochiltree. They were at once mounted behind horsemen on horseback, in order to be carried to Edinburgh. Unfortunately the victors were too fond of spoil. A number of the soldiers went to the stables and took all the horses, which were numerous, broke up the merchants' booths, carried off what they could get hold of, and disappeared. Mar came out of the Castle with forty armed men, and began to set fire to an unfinished building, called, since, "Mars-work," situated at the head of Baker Street and adjoining the Castle. He drove Kirkaldy's men from the market-place to another quarter, where they were attacked by the citizens, whilst Lennox and Morton managed to escape from their guard and join Mar's force.

The guard of Lennox and Morton was Scott of Buccleuch, and it would appear he offered no resistance to this escape. It is even said that he aided and abetted it. In the midst of this confusion Captain Calder, one of Kirkaldy's officers, coming up behind the regent, shot him through the back. Calder afterwards confessed that he was told to do so by Lord Claude Hamilton and

Huntly in revenge for the death of John Hamilton, archbishop of St. Andrews. This need not surprise any one, for Lennox ordered the execution of the archbishop to be carried out in the most cruel and inhuman manner. Calder afterwards was so unfortunate as to fall into the hands of the enemy, and was executed. The regent expired the same night, in Stirling Castle. The Buccleuch incident, and the escape of Morton, need not have occurred if Kirkaldy had commanded this expedition in person. That it did occur, is a proof of the undisciplined state of the military at that time, and of the treachery that unfortunately was so common. On the following day Mar was appointed regent, in preference to Elizabeth's nominee—Morton.

The following is the recital of this clever but startling event, given in an unpublished letter:—

Maitland of Lethington to the Queen of Scots.

September 15, 1571, Edinburgh Castle.

By the letter the bearer brought us we perceive the last letter your majesty received from us was dated the 4th of August, and that you had not had ours of the 28th of July. We wrote to you on the 9th of August, and two letters the 10th of August, which letters we delivered to James Lauder to be carried by him to Conthelley, where the Englishman Wilson tarried for them, to

whom we sent money for his voyage. We wrote on the 17th of August, which letter the Bishop of Galloway promised to send safely. We have received your majesty's letter of the 12th of August, and the other from the bearer of the 29th of August, whereby we understand the ⊕ ♁ (Ambassador of France) has already delivered 2000 crowns to be conveyed to us by ⊖ special means, but as yet we have heard no word of them. We are in great straits now for lack of money, and very hard to retain our soldiers. We have contracted great debt, and find few merchants will deal with us. The yielding of the Earl of Argyll, Cassillis, Eglinton, and L to the other party makes the merchants despair that our cause will prosper, seeing the few in number who stick to us. We temporize with the soldiers the best we may, and put them off as well as we can with fair words, pending the arrival of money. We see little appearance of the coming of the English commissioners to the borders. In the meanwhile the Marshal of Berwick presses us with Robert Melville and his passing into England, and writes that the Queen of England marvels we send him not, seeing she has granted a passport. We have answered that the cause of his stay is the uncertainty of his passage between this and Berwick; as also his passing can serve no purpose without he have liberty to speak to you on the way; for without your consent our treaty can take no end, nor yet can our commissioners have authority to conclude anything. If we obtain that liberty, he shall be sent immediately. I wrote to the ⌐ (Bishop of Ross) the 29th of August, also to the Ambassador of France, and sent your letter with an

archer of the guard called James Clark, who has a passport. The Ambassador's letter is written in your cipher. Touching Archibald Ruthven, we neglected to give your majesty notice of his proceedings, for assuredly he has behaved very favourably towards us and to your cause. He has these three months and more continually given us intelligence of all things our enemies intended, which has served us to very good purpose. You may well trust him, for we have found him very true and honest, and esteem him worthy of credit. If he may obtain credit with Lady Lennox (as we fear he hardly shall), indeed he might be attached to your majesty and your cause. Our Parliaments have proceeded on both sides, in the end of August. They have in Stirling forfeited the most part of all on our side, and we in Edinburgh have forfeited twice as many of theirs; and always begin at the greatest, Argyll, Cassillis, Eglinton, and L are in Stirling with them. They intend the 11th of this month to assemble the whole forces of Scotland that are at their command at Leith, with twenty days' provision, and immediately to surround this town, to cast trenches, and to invade it. A battery they will bring from the ⊟⊟ (E. of Morton) and the Earl of Argyll's, and a battery from the Earl of Morton at Stirling, a battery and a gross culvering of iron, and two demi-culverings which were in Dunbar. All these and other small pieces they intend to bring with them, and either to win the town by assault, or hazard a thousand lives upon it. Truly they are in despair of their cause if they suffer us to hold this town. On the other hand we make the preparations we may for defence, and hope to

do well, albeit our forces are small in comparison to theirs; for, besides our paid men and the inhabitants of Edinburgh, all the rest will not make a hundred men that will be in the castle. Yet, by God's grace, it shall be hard, if they obtain their object without much blood. Your majesty may judge in what straits we will be, having so much ado with our soldiers at this time, and never a penny to give them. After we had thus far proceeded in our letter, there was a plot devised and put in execution, which, if it had succeeded, your cause would have had a good end in Scotland presently. Understanding that the lords who take part or mix with the other side were assembled in Stirling for their Parliament, and that they had left their men of war in Leith with Lord Lindsay, we sent for Fernihurst and Buccleuch to bring us a number of horsemen, to see if with their help we might defeat them. Divers proposals were made to draw them forth of Leith to the fields, and because they perceived us to have a squadron of horsemen, they would not come forth. When that failed it was arranged to make a surprise upon Stirling, to see if some of the principal lords might be taken in hand. The report was given out that Buccleuch and Fernihurst would ride home, and that we would send with them a hundred hagbutters to Jedburgh. Horses were sought in Edinburgh for the hagbutters, and all our escort were mounted, which, with the horsemen that were here, set out from Edinburgh at 5 p.m., and with them the Earl Huntly. The whole number was about seventeen score of horse. They sent before to keep all the passages, that no notice should pass of their journey. They entered on foot the

town of Stirling (the ports being closed) by a secret passage, between four and five o'clock in the morning, and were at the market cross before any one knew of their coming. They were masters of the town at 7 a.m., and never saw man to make impediment. In that time they took prisoners Glencairn, Cassillis and Eglinton, and put men to keep them in their lodgings; F (Argyll) and Lennox were in their power. They took the ✕✕ Earl of Lennox forth of his lodging. ✉ The Earl of Morton held his house longest, and before he yielded he was smoked out of it by fire, and so given up to Buccleuch. Albeit at Buccleuch's desire, the Earl of Huntly, Lord Claude, Fernihurst, and all others whom he most feared, promised to save his life, yet Buccleuch drew all his men about him, and for no persuasion could be made to stand longer to keep the causeway, but hurled down the gate, with Morton and his men at his back. One of them who was carrying Lennox down the street, where they should not have carried him, being earnestly pursued, shot the regent with a pistol. Buccleuch saved Morton, and for kindness tarried with him at the port, where Morton was rescued and he taken prisoner (as we suspect all with his own will). So in his default we lost the whole prisoners and the fruit of the journey. If he had stayed a short space on the causeway with the rest of the company, Lennox had been brought quick to Edinburgh, and with him Morton, Argyll, Glencairn, Cassillis, Eglinton, Montrose, Menteith, Sutherland, Ruthven, Methven, and Cathcart, with a number of gentlemen, and that without any difficulty. Our men brought with them to Edinburgh fifteen score and sixteen horses of the

spoils of Stirling. All the best were there, which will not be sold for 10,000 marks; besides a great quantity of merchants' goods. There are slain of the adversaries sixteen, whereof Lennox and young Garlies (Galloway's son) are of the number. There are hurt thirty-seven. This is the true result of the enterprise. It is a fatal death for regents to be slain with one shot, and therefore an office not of long duration. He is unhappy who accepts it next. They have this day in Stirling chosen Mar regent. Skeldon is a false loon. He not only keeps 300 crowns to himself, but also takes part with your enemies in Stirling. We have got sure notice that Lennox and Ormiston were both slain with shot, and by one of the adverse faction.

(In cipher.)

This is a letter of great importance. It is mysterious that not one of the letters referred to as being written by Maitland to the queen appears to have been preserved. At all events they are not in the Calendar of State Papers. At the date of this letter Maitland had removed to Edinburgh Castle, and was in great straits for want of money, a circumstance due to the captivity of the queen. Her French dowry, which was substantial, and more than sufficient for her wants, was kept back, and she could only get it in driblets. Maitland appears to have had no other source for supplying money to pay the soldiers. This

state of matters indicates that the Scottish nobles were very poor. Both parties were determined to fight, the siege of Leith being the great event of the time. Maitland says, "Truly they are in despair if they suffer us to hold this town." He says further, that the garrison of the castle numbered only one hundred men, but they were unable to maintain discipline among the soldiers, for they had no money to pay them. The letter gives a brief narrative of Kirkaldy's famous raid on Stirling, which was a badly-managed military manœuvre. It was doubtless a great victory for Mary, but it cannot be said that her supporters followed up their good luck as they ought to have done. The want of capable officers was conspicuous when they allowed such prisoners as Morton and others to slip through their fingers. This was owing to the treachery of Buccleuch, whose conduct was detestable. He was a supporter of the queen, yet Maitland says of him, "In his default we lost the whole prisoners and the fruit of the enterprise." The seizure of Morton was a great achievement. Had he been secured it is probable the siege of Edinburgh Castle would have been abandoned, and, if so, Maitland and Kirkaldy would not have lost their lives.

Money continued to be scarce, and on the 11th of September the Regent Mar wrote Drury, begging him to procure money from Elizabeth for payment of the soldiers. These requests were not made in vain, for on the 4th of October Elizabeth instructed Drury to pay £1000 to Mar.[1] In October, Shrewsbury informed Mary that her attempts to effect her escape had been discovered, that it was known she wanted to stir up a rebellion in England, that she had offered to send her son to Spain, and that she contemplated a marriage with Don Carlos. Mary replied that she was not accountable to the Queen of England nor any one else, but she had been willing to enter into a treaty for her restoration, and it was preposterous that because his mistress had failed to keep her word she should now complain of her attempts to obtain her liberty. It was true she sought assistance from France and Spain, but it was false that she had stirred up rebellion. As to sending her son to Spain, the rumour was untrue, for her son was not in her power.[2] After this Mary was treated with great harshness. She was strictly confined to her own apartments, and denied all outdoor exercise. Then Elizabeth reproached her for the expense of her imprisonment—a cruel

[1] State Paper Office. [2] *Hosack.*

remark that she received with resentment, and told Shrewsbury that rather than be insulted in this manner, she would pay it herself. The matter, however, dropped.

The Duke of Norfolk was, on the 16th of January, tried for treason, found guilty, and, on the 2nd of June thereafter, was executed. This was believed to be pretty much the work of Cecil. Norfolk defended himself with great firmness, but his correspondence with the pope and the King of Spain, and the depositions of his secretaries and the Bishop of Ross completely overwhelmed him. Twice Elizabeth signed Norfolk's death warrant, and twice she revoked it, but the two houses met on the 8th of May, and for the third time she signed it, and the fatal deed followed. This by some was supposed to be a mere prelude to the trial of Mary. After insulting her with various unfounded charges, Parliament presented a bill of attainder against her for Elizabeth's signature. Elizabeth refused to sign it; as also another, securing them against resentment if Mary should succeed to the English throne. Mary was overwhelmed with grief at the death of Norfolk, to whom she would have been married if they had got their liberty. A fortnight after this, Sir Ralph Sadler, Lord Delawar, and the attorney-general arrived at

Sheffield with several accusations against Mary by Elizabeth—the Norfolk love episode, the pope's bull, the efforts she was making to get her liberty. She informed them she had pledged her faith to Norfolk, that she had burned the pope's bull excommunicating Elizabeth, and she admitted she was making efforts for her release. Nothing came of this interview. The Bishop of Ross was at this date removed from the Tower to Farnham Castle as a prisoner, which he said was a vast improvement on the Tower. He wrote Mary a very sympathetic letter, and sent her a book of devout meditations written by him in the Tower. With this Mary was much gratified.

There is in the State Paper Office the answer by Mary to the memorial signed by Elizabeth, and delivered to her by Shrewsbury, respecting Mary's title to the Crown of England, her imprisonment, the murder of Darnley, Bothwell's trial and acquittal, the assurance from Elizabeth which caused Mary's flight into England, the circumstances which preceded her marriage with Darnley, her proposed marriage with Norfolk, and other matters ; also a paper written by Elizabeth on the justice of her detention of Mary in respect of the murder of her husband and her marriage with Bothwell. There is nothing in these papers but

what we already know. In February Lord Herries is reported to have submitted to the regent, and on the 6th of March Mar wrote Elizabeth, urging her to make the Queen of Scots' party submissive by force, and requesting her to send a supply of money. The king's party, through Drury and Randolph, also demanded money, but they were refused, and the regent's request granted. This month Lord Seton was shipwrecked on the coast of Suffolk on his return from Flanders, whither he had gone as Mary's ambassador, and all the money, arms, and stores he had got for Mary's use were unfortunately lost. On the 30th of April Mary wrote the following letter to Elizabeth:—

Queen Mary to Queen Elizabeth.

Sheffield, April 30, 1572.

MADAM,—It pleased you before to command me to reply to your letters, if there were anything worthy. I have attempted to write something worthy of you, and, if possible, to make you consider it, and not esteem it altogether vain and frivolous, but I have gained nothing, as your accustomed silence has been the only result. I find I have many new occasions to augment those of which I have made so many complaints. I write to implore you to reply to my letters, and to tell me the fault that you find in them. I do not know what to

think. Only I repeat that it will please you in some way to make up your mind whether you will treat with me or not. Accept my reasonable offers, or refuse them altogether.

It is time to take some steps to allow me to have some clothes and other necessities, even such as are permitted to prisoners. In my last letter, of March 14th, I touched on some points, which will you attend to, if you please.

For the rest, madam, being detained in your hands, where I am with my own wish and in all good faith in the hope of the friendship that you have promised me, and being finally reduced to such extremity that only my ambassadors may have access to see you, of which no doubt my adversaries take advantage, they work to do me hurt and cross me as to my right of succession after you. I am constrained in this letter, having no other means, to protest that if another Parliament does anything to the prejudice of my right after you, my intention is to oppose it, and make fight in the assembled Parliament, either myself or my deputies. When I hear of it, I am not forgetful (as you know) of the good and just demonstration that it pleased you to make formerly on a similar occasion, when I was at liberty and amongst my subjects and in my kingdom. And that it is lawful for me to send ambassadors into the country concerning this. I trust that you will not favour me with less than justice on this point, besides there is our nearness or relationship.

I would have written by my own hand, as I am accustomed to do, in order to make these requests, but

you will please excuse me, as I am ill with many complaints that have affected me lately, and also with a cold, which is impossible to describe. And if you do not find me too importunate, I beg you will allow me to go to the baths at Buxton, which is near here, with such orders as it may please you to make, and which I will pay attention to.

I will finish, presenting my affectionate recommendations to your grace, praying God to give you a happy and a good life.

Your very affectionate sister and cousin,

MARIE R.

The tone of this letter, dignified, sensible, reasonable under trying and unexampled circumstances, is a conspicuous proof of Mary's equanimity of temper.

On the 13th of May the Bishop of Ross had a visit of three formidable individuals—Sussex, Sadler, and Mildmay, Elizabeth's commissioners. The bishop had been engaged in various plots for Mary's return, and one of these unfortunately came to light. It was the Rudolphi incident. Rudolphi was an Italian and a London banker, much respected by Burleigh. But for its discovery the plot would have achieved Mary's release. The pope and the King of Spain were to provide six thousand troops, also arms and ammunition for four thousand of Mary's

supporters in Scotland. It was provided that two thousand men should be landed in the north, and that Huntly should be in waiting to take the command.

Following on this came the fate of the Earl of Northumberland, whose devotion to Mary cost him his life. On the 11th of July, Elizabeth commanded Lord Hunsdon to take Northumberland to York, and there cause him to be put to death. Lord Hunsdon refused to obey this infamous order, but it was ultimately carried out by Sir John Forster. Nothumberland was two years in Lochleven. His devoted wife offered a ransom of £2000 for him, but Mar and Morton were creatures of Elizabeth, and were base enough to give her the first offer of the earl at that price. Elizabeth accepted, and paid down the amount in gold, and this sealed the earl's fate. The trial is reported by some historians to have lasted six weeks; others assert that there was no trial at all. We should think the latter most likely. The unfortunate earl was executed at York, on the 22nd of August, and the brutal deed seems to have been condemned by the whole nation. The Earl of Westmoreland was more fortunate. He lived for thirty years after this event, but he was out of Elizabeth's jurisdiction, and she was unable to

lay hands upon him. He never returned to England, but is said to have died at Brussels, in great poverty, in 1601, his faithful wife having done everything in her power to obtain a reversion of his forfeiture, but in vain.

It is evident from the historical narrative that the life of Mary during her captivity was very precarious, and often hung on a very slender thread. Notwithstanding the repeated attempts which had hitherto been concocted to have her privately murdered, it would appear that, in September, Burleigh and the House of Commons recommended that she be tried and executed. Elizabeth did not agree, because, as was said, she had another and more secret plan of her own. This was to have her executed privately, and Killigrew was sent to Scotland with instructions from Burleigh to effect this object. Elizabeth was to deliver up the Queen of Scots to her subjects on condition that they should make that request: the latter was to be put to death as soon as she arrived in Scotland: Elizabeth's name was not to appear in the negotiations. The massacre of St. Bartholomew having occurred three weeks before, Elizabeth was anxious to identify Mary's name with it as a pretext for taking her life. In this infamous scheme Mar and Morton, Burleigh and Leicester

supported Elizabeth, Mar and Morton requesting that she should send three thousand troops to Scotland to assist at the execution, and that she should pay the Scottish troops all arrears of wages. These highly disgraceful negotiations fell through on account of the sudden death of Mar, and were never resumed; but Mary had a narrow escape from execution though the plot was never communicated to her. The regent's death was unexpected, and as he had been dining with Morton at Dalkeith Palace immediately before, it has been supposed by some writers that Morton poisoned him. Morton was thereafter appointed regent, viz. on the 24th of November, 1572, the day on which John Knox died.[1]

On April 5, 1573, we have a record of the submission of Lord Seton and the Earl of Atholl to the king.[2] On the 25th of April, Mary was much grieved by the news that Lady Livingstone had been arrested on her journey, Sheffield to Scotland, and put in prison.

The following is an unpublished letter respecting the alienation of the Earl and Countess of Argyll. The countess was a sister of the Regent Moray, and it will be remembered that

[1] Knox's widow was afterwards married to Ker of Faudonside.

[2] State Paper Office.

in Mary's happy days at Lochleven, she sent Knox to Inverary to patch up this matter, and presented him with a silver watch.

John Brand, Minister of Canongate, to Lady Jane Stuart, Countess of Argyll.

Edinburgh, April 23, 1573.

MADAM,—We send unto your ladyship information how we were driven to proceed to use sentence of excommunication against you for not adhering to my lord your husband, which, notwithstanding in contempt of God and his Kirk, would give no answer thereunto, yet we, moved of charity and according to our duty, seek and by all means rather to win you and hold you in Christ's Kirk, rather than be compelled to recite you and give you up to the hands of Satan. We have sought your relaxation from the horn, and also have obtained a promise of my lord regent's that without molestation in word or deed ye may repair unto us to-morrow to our session, to be held in our kirk at eight hours in the morning, to be heard that if any just cause or excuse you have or can allege why ye ought not to adhere to your husband. Certifying you for the last time, and more than we are bound by the law. In case you come not in proper person, or else send your lawful procurators to show unto us reasonable cause why ye ought not, we will proceed by Sunday next to the sentence of excommunication without farther delay. I depone before God your obstinacy to be the cause thereof. Subscribed

at the Canongate the 24th day of April, 1573, by the minister of Canongate, at the command of the superintendent of Lothian and Kirk of the Canongate.

JOHN BRAND.

The result is not recorded, and the entire incident is not without mystery, as no details have been recorded to enable us to form an opinion. Evidently it was the lady who was at fault, judging from the only expression that ever fell from Mary's mouth on the subject.

CHAPTER XV.

Siege of Edinburgh Castle—Death of Maitland—Execution of Kirkaldy and his brother—Letter, Maitland's widow to Burleigh—Treatment of Maitland's body—His character—Morton willing to murder Mary for a bribe—Mary goes to Buxton—Her harsh treatment leads to Catholic conspiracies—Anonymous paper respecting Frenchmen in Scotland—Deputation from Elizabeth to interview Mary—Mary's plot to steal her son from Morton—Death of Raulet, her secretary—Marriage of Lennox, Darnley's brother—Elizabeth puts the mothers of the young people in the Tower—Queen Mary's jewels and the correspondence of Morton and the Earl and Countess of Argyll.

Mary was deeply grieved to hear that the gallant defenders of Edinburgh Castle were suffering great privation. The English troops numbered six hundred and fifty, and they joined Morton's, who also numbered six hundred and fifty. Morton called a parliament for the purpose of strengthening his position, and it restored Huntly and Sir James Balfour to their estates, confirmed the league with England, and pronounced sentence of treason and forfeiture, against all Mary's supporters. This parliament

was evidently a mere assembly of Morton's associates. The attack on the castle was made with great determination, and eventually the besiegers cut off the water supply. The garrison were thus compelled to send buckets to a spring at the foot of the rock. In doing so, they were let down by ropes under a shower of bullets. The besiegers poisoned the spring. The garrison was reduced to great straits, when an incident of a remarkable kind occurred. Sir James Kirkaldy, brother of Grange, landed at Blackness with a supply of money, arms, and military stores from France, for the benefit of the garrison. By the treachery of his wife he was betrayed, and the stores were seized by Morton. During the absence of Sir James Kirkaldy, Morton had corrupted his wife, and she treacherously betrayed the secret to the regent, who gave orders to seize her husband and all his stores. The lady is described as having been young and handsome. She persuaded her husband to come out of the fort on the pretence of escorting her, when he immediately fell into the trap. He was surrounded and taken prisoner, but he afterwards escaped and was able to join his brother in the garrison. His unfaithful wife paid the penalty with her life. A few days afterwards she was found strangled in

her bed-chamber.[1] Kirkaldy and Maitland were determined to hold out, and intimated to the regent that, though deserted by their friends, they would hold out to the last. Again Kirkaldy was asked to surrender, but he declared he would fight till he was buried in the ruins. On the 25th of May, seeing it was hopeless to hold out any longer, he offered to surrender on the following conditions—surety for the lives and livings of all in the castle, permission for Home and Maitland to retire to England, and himself to remove unmolested. Morton rejected these reasonable terms, but he agreed to spare the lives of the garrison excepting Grange, Maitland, Home, Robert Melville, the Bishop of Dunkeld, Restalrig, Drylaw and Pitarrow. Grange rejected these conditions, and declared his resolution to abide the worst. At this stage the garrison began to mutiny, and all was lost. On the 29th the regent's forces were admitted, and to them Grange surrendered. He and his companions were immediately taken to Sir William Drury, but he held out no hope; they wrote at once to Burleigh, interceding for their lives, but it produced no effect. Elizabeth requested Drury to deliver them up to Morton to do with them as he

[1] *Stuart.*

pleased. Everything was done by Grange's friends to obtain his release, and eventually £2000 was offered and an annuity of three thousand marks to Morton, but all in vain. The brave Kirkaldy and his brother, along with Mossman—Queen Mary's jeweller—and Cockburn, were on the 3rd of August brought from Holyrood to the Cross of Edinburgh, and publicly executed.

Maitland had been taken to a prison in Leith, and died of poison, supposed to have been administered by Morton's orders. Morton never forgave Maitland for withdrawing from the rebels and returning to his allegiance to the queen. Maitland's wife, Mary Fleming, one of the queen's Maries, wrote the following pathetic letter to Burleigh after her husband's death.

"Edinburgh, June 21, 1573.

"My very good Lord,—After my humble commendations it may please your lordship that the causes of the sorrowful widow and orphans being by Almighty God recommended to the superior powers, together with the firm confidence my late husband put in your lordship's only help in the occasion that I his desolate wife though unknown to you take the boldness by these few lines to humbly request that as my said husband being alive expected no small benefit at your hands so now I may find such comfort that the queen your sovereign may by your means be moved to write

the regent of Scotland that the body of my husband which when alive has not been spared in her highness service, may now after his death receive no shame or ignominy, and that his heritage taken from him during his lifetime, now belonging to me and his children that have not offended, by a disposition made a long time ago may be restored which is agreeable both to equity and the laws of this realm. Also you will not forget my husband's brother the lord of Coldingham, an innocent gentleman, who was never engaged in these quarrels, but for his love to his brother, accompanied him, and is now a prisoner with the rest, that by your good means he may be restored to his own, which beside the blessing of God will also even give the good will of many noblemen and gentlemen."

There is no record in the State Paper Office of any deliverance on this letter.

About the manner of Maitland's death very little is known, but we know that his body, in spite of his wife's letter, was subjected to great indignity, so much so that Elizabeth remonstrated with Morton and the Scottish Parliament about it. She said—

"It is not our manner in this country to show cruelties upon the dead bodies of unconvicted persons, but to suffer them straight to be buried and put in the earth."

His body was refused interment till it was

presented in court "for justice." It is supposed that Morton poisoned him for the purpose of preventing a public execution, as Maitland would probably have disclosed information that would have proved Morton to be one of Darnley's murderers. Then there were the deaths of Atholl and Mar, with which Morton was credited. Had Maitland possessed less duplicity and more honesty it would have been better for his country and himself. He could only breathe freely in an atmosphere of treason, and if in the prosecution of a cherished scheme forgery or murder became essential to success, such obstacles were more calculated to attract than to scare him from his project.[1] The surrender of Edinburgh Castle was attended with brutal deeds. Between ladies of rank and soldiers' wives there were thirty-four women in the castle. Many of the soldiers' wives were let down with ropes in order to go into town and buy food. The greater number of them were caught, and, by Morton's orders, remorselessly hanged.[2] The ladies captured by Drury were—the ladies Argyll, Home, Kirkaldy, Lethington, all of whom were taken to Leith, but eventually rescued. After this, Morton continued to importune Elizabeth for money, on the ground

[1] *Hosack.* [2] *Strickland.*

that, as it was by her influence he had been elected regent, she was bound to see him provided with money to meet his outlay. It does not appear that she responded to his request: and in regard to Mary he was willing to put her to death if he got a sufficient bribe; but this was not forthcoming, as Elizabeth would not listen to it. The intelligence of these events overwhelmed Mary with grief. She became absolutely ill, mentally and physically, and again desired to go to Buxton for the benefit of the waters. It took Elizabeth about two months to give her consent, and she did so reluctantly and ungraciously. Mary had been removed, on the 1st of August, to Chatsworth, and at the end of the month she was escorted to Buxton by Shrewsbury, his wife, and seven daughters, also a band of soldiers, so that she was well watched and surrounded. After her return to Chatsworth she was, at the beginning of November, removed to Sheffield; and, from her letter to the French ambassador, Fénelon, about her jewels, we get another view of Morton's character. She says to the ambassador—

"It seems that he has charged those who have defended the castle with having separated and dispersed them into the hands of merchants and workmen, which is only to serve him as an excuse for stealing them

Mary Stuart

himself, for he has slain those who had the charge of them, and were responsible to me for them, and at least could have testified where they were, whereby he has too clearly manifested his cunning and dishonesty. But as the queen has so much power over him, I think she will not permit him to commit such a robbery."

We are informed by some historians that, both at Bolton and Sheffield, Mary not only listened to the sermons of Anglican divines, but often discoursed with them on religious subjects. The obstinate refusal of her keepers to allow her the exercise of her own religion, and the rude reply of Elizabeth to her last request, induced her finally to abandon the practice of attending the Anglican service. If Mary became an enemy to Protestantism we must look for the cause, not to her own inclination, but to the barbarous conduct of Burleigh. Her imprisonment and outrageous treatment not only impeded the Reformation in England, but led to a succession of Catholic conspiracies which kept the kingdoms in perpetual alarm.

There is deposited in the Record Office a curious anonymous paper which is worth reproducing. The appearance of Frenchmen in Scotland was very offensive to many of the lieges, as it always raised that disagreeable question, the

Roman Catholic religion. Frenchmen were at that time appointed to some of the principal places under the crown, as this paper shows; and that also was offensive, and certainly did not tend to improve Mary's prospects. The paper, from which the following is merely an extract, is entitled, "The Causes that induce the Council and Nobility of Scotland to fear the French Intentions to reduce Scotland to their Absolute Obedience." After stating these, it goes on to say—

"Some of them in France began to fear the French intentions towards the conquest of Scotland. Seeing the arms of Scotland placed directly under the arms of France on the right side as a purchase, hearing therewithal that the Dauphin's ambassador had made homage to the pope for the kingdom of Scotland; howbeit nothing was granted to him but the crown matrimonial. Touching the value of the offices and lands that Maitland had by gift of the Queen of Scots, he had the office of chief secretary, wherein he was placed in the queen regent's government, which was worth (700) marks Scots yearly; he had the lands of Strathnairn and Cullard on the north of the Laird of Findlater by the queen's order and agreement when Findlater was restored to his living after the death and execution of John Gordon, Huntly's second son, and the same lands of Strathnairn and Cullard were shortly given to the Earl of Moray for his lands at Cunnyngham in Lothian. And the lands of Cunnyngham were by Lethington given to the Laird of Bass, for

sundry parcels of land in Lothian, and the most worth 7ay marks Scotch by year. He had the feu of the temporal lands of the Abbey of Haddington and the abbey itself, while the Earl Bothwell, coming in, dispossessed him of the abbey. He had, by the means of his credit in court, two parks of the lands of Belton in Lothian belonging to Lord Ruthven and Lord Home, esteemed worth 5y marks by year, and the lands of Darnick in feu of the Abbot of Melrose, worth 300 marks and better. He gave the Priory of Coldinghame to his brother John Maitland. His father, himself, his brother, his cousin Master Robert Maitland, were all four lords of the sessions, his said cousin, Master Robert, was dean of Aberbeen, and one of the commissioners of Edinburgh."

Endorsed: "November 1573, from Scotland."

This year a deputation from Elizabeth arrived to accuse Mary of speaking unkindly of her, of distributing sums of money to promote treason, and of keeping up a secret correspondence at home and abroad. Mary indignantly replied that she was falsely accused, and would answer none of their interrogations. The deputation had no proof. This is an incident which it seems almost impossible to believe. A deputation to present such charges, and to have no proof, was ridiculous. Mary was bound to speak unkindly of the woman who had unlawfully

imprisoned her, and was taking away her life by inches. If Elizabeth had not been more a knave than a fool, she would never have made such a charge. And she had no right to interfere with Mary's correspondence at home and abroad. That Mary should have paid any money for treasonable purposes is a charge without the slightest foundation, and if the deputation had no proof, that shows what fools they were to undertake such a mission.

In the matter of flesh in Lent, the Privy Council, at their meeting on the 22nd of February, commanded all and sundry of what estate, degree, or condition not to eat or slay, prepare or make ready for eating, any kind of flesh from the last day of February until the 11th of April next, excepting such persons as may obtain the regent's authority.

In the latter part of the summer an important incident occurred. It was a plot of Mary's to steal her son from Morton, carry him to Dumbarton, and have a boat in waiting to take him to Flanders. He was to be put under the King of Spain for his education, and thereafter married to one of that king's daughters. George Douglas was the active agent in this plot ; but a sufficient opportunity never occurred for carrying it out.

On the 30th of August, Mary lost her faithful foreign secretary, Raulet, who died in Sheffield Castle. Shrewsbury entered the chamber as soon as Raulet expired, and, seizing his keys, opened his lockfast places, thinking he might get some letters to incriminate Mary; but he discovered nothing.[1] Mary was indignant at this outrage, and said, "Look that you have a good warrant for this, for answer you shall." All the summer and autumn of this year she beguiled the time by reading and needlework. She wrote the Archbishop of Glasgow to procure her some turtles, Barbary doves, and some little dogs. She presented Elizabeth with a beautiful cloak of carnation satin, sewed with silver thread, which Elizabeth prized very much; but it did not move her heart to release the poor captive as was intended. This year Lord Charles Stuart, Earl of Lennox and brother of Darnley, married Elizabeth Cavendish, daughter of Lady Shrewsbury by her previous husband, Sir William Cavendish. Lord Charles was the next heir to the throne, after Queen Mary's son. Elizabeth, as might be expected, was in great indignation. This being so, she was sure to do something brutal. She, for no reason whatever, ordered the mothers of the two young people

[1] *Strickland.*

to be arrested and put in the Tower, which was done. Mary was again scarce of money, and unable to pay her servants' wages, simply because she was not getting the money from France she was entitled to. As for Scotland, there was nothing to be got there. As indicating what she had to endure, her French lawyers and officers took advantage of her helpless captivity to let her farms, as the leases fell out, at reduced rents, in consideration of the fees and bribes they received.[1]

It would appear that Morton's cupidity had now become so notorious that Argyll and others drew away from him. It was Argyll's brother who fought at Langside. This earl (Colin) married the widow of the Regent Moray (Agnes Keith Marischal), and had thereby fallen heir to some of the richest and most precious of the queen's jewels, which Moray had seized during Mary's captivity. Morton demanded these, and threatened to arrest Argyll and his lady if they did not deliver them up at once. The jewels which had gone away from the queen in gifts, which had been pawned to relieve her necessities, and of which she had been robbed by her rebellious nobles, were all claimed by Morton; failing which, their equivalent was demanded. Their immense variety and

[1] *Labanoff.*

great value was a subject of controversy during the regency of Morton. They were stolen from Holyrood by Moray, and at his death came into the exclusive possession of his widow. On her marriage with Argyll they passed into the possession of that family. The matter, as an historical event, cannot be overlooked, and the negotiations for their retention or surrender cannot fail to be read with interest.

Conditions on which the Regent of Scotland, at the Request of Elizabeth, will agree that the Earl and Countess of Argyll shall retain Certain Jewels belonging to the King of Scotland.

Whereas my Lady of Argyll (formerly Lady Moray) hath made suit to the Queen of England for her favourable letters to the regent, to permit her and the earl, her husband, to retain certain jewels, until certain demands be answered to the heirs of the late Earl of Moray for money disbursed by him in the king's service, it hath pleased the regent thus far to grant unto them at her majesty's request, to wit that Lord and Lady Argyll shall retain them in their custody on these conditions: That first, after his grace's return to Edinburgh, they produce the said jewels, to be valued, and showing cause why they should detain them, giving caution to his grace to be answerable for them for the king's use, his grace is contented that they shall retain them in their custody, as stated. And touching the time to produce them, his

grace's pleasure is it should be at his return to Edinburgh, where able men may be found to value the said jewels. If this is approved by Lord and Lady Argyll, they signify the same unto his grace, and he will release them from the horn so that they may come to his grace for termination of this matter.

And further than this his grace cannot go with his duty to the king and nobility of the realm.

The Countess of Argyll to Elizabeth.

September 10, 1574.

May it please your majesty I have oft troubled your highness; of the which boldness, I must humbly crave your pardon, as also at the being here of your servant, Sir Harry Killegrew. He travailed at your majesty's command with the regent, to bring the difference that is betwixt Argyll and the regent, for my cause and my Lord of Moray's bairns, to some good end. And upon this occasion, my husband and I wrote your majesty letters of thanks for the favour we had obtained at the regent's hand. But now, since the departing of your ambassador, the regent has desired the performance of some further conditions by us not contained in the heads agreed upon before. It thus appears unto Argyll and me that his grace is not to make any immediate end of this matter, but only to drive time, and allege that the fault is on our side. Argyll and I may not be present with you to declare verbally the conditions of all this our just cause, and fearing lest it might be otherwise reported, I have sent your highness the true copies of such writings as have passed betwixt the

regent and Argyll. These things being looked on, your highness will soon consider the regent's mind towards the weal of me and Lord Moray's bairns. Wherefore if it shall please you to write in my favour to the regent, I will most humbly desire that the same may be for a simpliciter relaxation from the horn, together with the regent's promise to you, that during his government I shall not again be troubled in this matter. And this I believe he will do at your desire, for ye have done more for him. I am the more desirous of this your majesty's earnest request, because I understand, if I should exhibit the jewels at the regent's desire, he is altogether minded to retain them, and will hold no cause that I will allege to be lawful why I should have the custody of them. And if I should be this way handled, I am sure you will disapprove. Fearing to trouble you with a longer letter, I take my leave, committing your highness to the protection of the Almighty.

From Argyll, on the 10th day of September, 1574.

AGNES KEITH.

This lady has the capability of expressing herself in a very businesslike manner, a faculty very rare in that age. Even the Queen of Scots could not have expressed herself better. The custody of the queen's jewels occupied for a time a great deal of public attention, on account of their great value and their romantic history.

The following paper, deposited in the Record Office, contains the answer of the Countess of

Argyll (Lady Moray) to the regent's objections concerning the jewels, and is very interesting :—

"The Answer of Madame Agnes Keith, Countess of Argyll, to the Regent's Objections to the Earl of Argyll's Articles and Offers made to his Grace, concerning the Exhibition or Deliverance of certain Jewels pertaining to the King's Majesty, acclaimed of me :—

"Where it is answered in the regent's objections, that the trouble taken by Argyll with me has been slender, and neither earnest nor yet effectual, And that the offer of finding caution, that the jewels shall be forthcoming to the king's majesty cannot be thought sufficient, and that it exonerates not the regent of that committed to his charge, And that there is nothing proceeded against the said Earl but conform to law.

"I will omit the answering of these heads unto my husband and his friends. But in my opinion concerning the first head, my husband has done that which becometh a nobleman of his honour and duty in joining with me for the satisfaction of the regent's desire, unless my husband would have used me more extremely not becoming a husband or lord, the which he could not of his honour do, considering the matter originated not in any crime but is civil. And as touching the other objections, chiefly where exhibition ought to be made of the jewels acclaimed, and that my excuse in non-exhibiting thereof is but an invention without any manner of ground or law.

"My answer is that these things, which are corporal, whereof the value may be liquidated and the price

thereof esteemed, are not necessary to be exhibited because ordinary process may be preferred against the retainer; as yet there is none used against me. And this being truth, as it is most true, it cannot be objected that my first statement is an invention without ground of law.

"'That if any power was granted to the Regent Moray by parliament it cannot but be patent to witness the truth that the jewels were not ordained to be withholden by me after his decease, and that my disbursing has not been great for the king or my husband's debts.'

"My answer is that I am assured the regent nor any of the nobility favourers of the king's majesty will deny or call in question the power granted unto my late husband by consent of parliament to dispone to the king's majesty jewels as he thought good for maintaining of the common cause. And seeing that he has disponed one part thereof, both by selling and pledging of them, and perceiving that way to fail him, he retained some part in his own hands for his relief in the debts contracted by him in the common cause, whereof the burden comes upon his bairns. And in consideration thereof I have just cause to withhold and retain the jewels after his decease and until relief or payment of the said debts be made. Notwithstanding my disbursing, since my husband's decease, for the king's majesty's debts, yet it is well-known that he was superexpended in his own, which was spent in the common cause by intromission of the king's revenue, to about the value of the jewels acclaimed. As to the rest of the objection, it is impertinent to the purpose and requires no answer.

"'That I cannot justly claim retention of the jewels, being neither tutrix nor administatrix to my children.'

"It is of verity that I am tutrix testamentary and also tutrix dative, and no other has opposed them, and if any would, they shall be answered according to law.

"'Where the debts were contracted by my lord and husband in the king's service is not sure nor declared by count, there being sufficient time thereto, and therefore I cannot lawfully retain the king's jewels.'

"My answer is that the fault thereof was not mine, because I was not executrix vocata (?) and they who were executors vocati (?) would not accept the burden and charge upon them, albeit they were most effectually required thereto, as some of them yet living can bear witness, namely the Lairds of Pitarro and Lochleven. Nevertheless, if it is the regent's will and pleasure to suffer my person to stand in judgment, I shall cause such debts as were contracted by my late husband for maintenance of the king's service and common cause to be made manifest, which, being done, there are none of sound judgment but will consider my retention of the jewels to be lawful.

"'If I had bestowed any sums of money of my own or yet taken money upon the king's jewels for maintaining of the action of revenging of my husband's blood, whereof I crave my children to be recompensed, the retention of the jewels might have had some show.'

"Unto the which I answer that I was never charged to bestow any sums of money to that effect, and if I had been charged I would have provided some other of

my own, so as not to have pledged those jewels which are not my own.

"'But in that case I have taken little care and burden meaning to revenge my husband's slaughter as in payment of his debts.'

"I may answer that I am assured that all who have the fear of God understand and know how far God has permitted a subject and a lone woman to be a revenger of quarrels. But if it had been the will of God to have promoted me to the room and charge that others bear, and then to have some such assurance and friendship as they have gotten, I hope to have so discharged my duty that the murderers, not only of my husband, but of others should not have been entertained nor accepted, and the common proverb is to have their heads stroked therefor to their own contentment and yet, even in my present state, I shall with God's grace do both by my goods and otherwise as becomes me, both of my own duty and honour, as time shall try the same.

"'That I might have found the means to have relieved my husband's debts, if any had been, by his own goods.'

"I think there is no man of good conscience or reason will judge that the private means of my husband ought or should relieve or pay debts contracted by him for the outsetting of the king's majesty's service and common cause.

"'And that the office of executrix committed to my trust was refused by me, my husband's latest will neglected, and a part of the goods of most avail retained by me from the knowledge of my children's nearest

friends, and refused by me to intromit with the remainder, whereby a great part is consumed.'

"To this I answer that I was not executrix vocata (?) as the testament will witness when it is seen, and as to my intromission with any manner of goods pertaining to my late husband, the regent is misinformed, for I am assured that there is none living who can prove my intromission or retention with any manner of goods or moveables as is alleged saving the jewels now acclaimed. And if any person will allege otherwise, I will desire the matter to be brought to proof, that my behaviour in that as in other causes alleged may be tried. And therefore I am accused, being innocent, in defrauding my bairns in taking the best of my husband's goods and leaving the rest, suffering the same to be consumed to their damage and hurt."

The following is a narrative of the conference between the regent and the Earl of Argyll's servant regarding the jewels :—

"First at my coming unto the regent's I presented the letters direct from the ambassador of England together with the Earl of Argyll's writing, which, so soon as his grace heard thereof, he found fault with the same, and says, 'How writes my Lord of Argyll unto me, being the king's rebel?' I answered, 'All things betwixt your grace and him he has agreed unto, and so he cannot be a rebel, for he wants nothing but the ceremony of the relaxation.' And after supper I showed his grace how willing Lord and Lady Argyll were to satisfy him in all

things, and therefore desired that they might be released from the horn, so that they might come unto his grace. He made me no answer, and so I took my leave until the morning. Next day he caused me to come in, and thereafter said, 'My Lord and Lady of Argyll think that upon their letter written unto me, I will release them from the horn. Nay, they must do further nor this. First they must find caution to fulfil the conditions agreed upon at such days as I will appoint, or else I will not release them. I will write you a memorial to be sent unto them, which ye shall receive to-morrow.' And then his grace began to show me in plain terms that it would be very hard for my lord and lady to fulfil the conditions; 'For my lady,' said he, 'after the exhibition of the jewels before me and the council, she must show reasonable cause why she ought to have them in keeping upon caution. If the ambassador has assured them otherwise than this, he has altogether mistaken me.' With this he called for the articles, which, being read, he said, 'Ye may see that this reasonable cause is the chief condition, which I will see satisfied.' I answered, 'My lord and lady think your grace will not stand upon the interpretation. But if they exhibit, showing any reasonable cause, your grace will let them have the custody of the jewels upon caution until the king's majority.' He answers, 'The condition says not so. If they believe that, they will be disappointed. I desired his grace to leave such extremity, which would be the means to draw them to his further obedience. Further, he bade me assure my lady that there was no harm that he might use, but should be used against her, so long as she kept the king's jewels.'

Further, he assured me that my lady could allege no reasonable cause, so that, if the jewels be once exhibited, he shall retain them."

A Memoir from the Regent to Robert Fletcher, Argyll's Servant, in Answer to the Earl of Argyll's Letter.

Albeit we are of mind to perform to my Lord of Argyll the conditions sent him by the ambassador of England, anent the king's jewels remaining in my lady's possession, which condition we understand to be this—that they showing reasonable cause why they should detain the jewels, and the same, being produced, valued and esteemed that my lord and lady should retain them in their custody, giving caution, to be answerable for them in the king's use.

Yet by the Earl of Argyll's letter finding the fulfilling of that part of the conditions to be doubtful and seeming to have unnecessary delay, we cannot grant the relaxation desired without surety that at the day appointed things promised shall take effect. And we cannot frustrate as before by the granting of the last relaxation, at which time there was promised reasonable satisfaction, and that nothing arrested as the king's escheat should have been intromitted with.

And, therefore, if Argyll be desirous that the matter shall be ordered, and take end according to the conditions sent him by the English ambassador, let sufficient caution be found of inland men, under the pain of £10,000, that the jewels shall be produced before us

and the Council at Edinburgh on the 24th of September next, to the effect specified in the said conditions. And that the relaxation desired shall incontinent hereafter be granted.

The Reply of the Earl of Argyll to a Memorial sent him by the Regent, with a Servant of his own, which Answer Argyle has sent to the Regent with the same Servant.

It is of verity that the articles sent to me by the English ambassador have the two points contained in them, the exhibition of the jewels and the caution, and so soon as I and my wife should signify our approval of the said articles that the regent should relax us from the horn, and so I thought good to certify the regent of my own approval and my wife's also. And truly in the articles sent to me, which were subscribed by the English ambassador there was no caution desired for keeping any particular day, but only to find caution for the sure keeping of the king's jewels when they should be exhibited, and so it cannot be thought that I have any way shifted from the agreement. The regent alleges that by my last relaxation the king was deprived of his profit, and the promise broken for not offering of reasonable satisfaction. As to the first, I altogether deny the intromitting with any of the living of Moray during that time; and even if I had, the wrong is not great, for I understand the gear is my own, and not my wife's. I am not afraid of being accused for any crime merely because

I want my own. And albeit for my wife's disobedience the regent has caused me to be named a rebel to the king, I hope I shall never justly merit that title at the hands of my sovereign. As for the promise made by my friends of reasonable satisfaction, I thought that point fulfilled when my wife declared the cause of her retaining of that gear, which was not for any profit to herself, but only for the weal of his bairns. Moray put them in her hands as he that had power for the time. And these things being well considered, I think the regent will neither esteem me a defrauder of the king's majesty, nor yet a promise-breaker to himself. So that I marvel what is the occasion of the regent's hard dealing to me and my wife.

As to my desire that the matter promised should take effect, my good will is already known by my letter sent to the regent. But to find caution to keep so short a day, as his grace has desired, it cannot be; for two causes, one my wife's inability, the other, so long as I am at the horn I have no negotiations with Lowland men as is desired; and so the requiring of these impossibilities at my hand makes me believe the regent to have little desire that the matter commanded by the English ambassador should take end, for none of them can be performed upon the sudden. And so I think the regent cannot justly lay to my charge the non-performance of that which was appointed at the Queen of England's desire.

And this, so long as the regent holds me at the horn, I am not able to offer or do anything further for obeying or satisfying his grace; but if it would please him to relax

me from the horn, I would be the more able to bring all things to a proper issue.

And so this remarkable correspondence terminates. It will be seen on reference to the appendix that the inventory of these jewels is a formidable document, and warrants the position taken up by Regent Morton. The immense quantity of them indicates that their aggregate value must in that age have been considered to their possessor a fortune of no mean dimensions. We are, therefore, not surprised at the persistent negotiations of the regent which led to their acquisition.

CHAPTER XVI.

Mary's presents to Elizabeth—Death of the Duke of Hamilton—Declaration of Mary repudiating connection with any scheme against Elizabeth's life—Mary at the Old Hall, Buxton—Burleigh meets her there, and Elizabeth orders his return—Shrewsbury desires to be recalled—Letter, Lady Margaret Lennox to Mary—Return of Bothwellhaugh—Letter from Elizabeth to the Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury—Morton espouses the cause of Mary—Mary at Buxton—Leicester ordered there by his physician—Elizabeth allows him to go only part of the way—Argyll and Atholl rebellion—Resignation of Morton—Death of Lady Margaret Lennox—Death of Bothwell—Surrender of Stirling Castle—Morton seizes the king and re-establishes himself—Parliament meets at Stirling—Death of Atholl—Letter from Mary to Countess of Atholl—Council at Holyrood and arrest of Morton—Mary receives a letter and present from her son—Paper on "religious reflections" by Mary—St. Petersburg Missal of Queen Mary.

On the 1st of January the French ambassador called for Elizabeth to wish her a happy new year.

"Then" says he, "I presented Queen Mary's letter together with a very beautiful coif of reseil, very delicately worked by the hands of Queen Mary, with the collar, sleeves and other little pieces belonging to the set, all of which was executed as charmingly as possible."

Mary was still suffering from want of money,

and in a letter to her uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine, she wrote—

"They are mutinying at not being paid. If they lack anything, they pursue me about it even to my bed, disrespect to which I have not been accustomed. I entreat you to release me from this annoyance."

Those were not her Scotch servants, but the others. Unfortunately, as it turned out, the Cardinal to whom she wrote the letter, was dead before it reached him. He died at Avignon on the 26th of December, to Mary's great regret. The Duke of Hamilton died at this time also, and was succeeded by Lord John Hamilton, commendator of Arbroath, the eldest son, the Earl of Arran, being imbecile. Mary at this date ordered four copies of her portrait to be executed, and put into square frames of chased gold.[1]

Declaration by the Queen of Scots, promising to be an Enemy to all those who shall attempt anything against the Life of Elizabeth.

Wingfield, January 5th.

The Queen of Scotland, Dowager of France, having heard of an association made among the principal lords of the kingdom to prevent all attempts against the life of the Queen of England, desires in this, as in every

[1] *Labanoff.*

thing else, to give every proof to the said Queen of England of her entire affection and sincerity towards her and holds herself, as her nearest relation, obliged and devoted to her preservation, HAS of her good, pure and frank will declared and promised, according to the said association, on the word of a queen, and on the faith and honour which she has borne up till now, And will hold for ever as her mortal enemies, without exception, all those who by council, warrant, assent, or other act whatsoever, who will attempt or carry out—which God forbid —anything to the danger of the life of the said queen, and will pursue such by every means to the end, until she has executed justice, punishment, and vengeance sufficient and exemplary. In witness of which, and in confirmation of the said association, to notify to all whom it may concern, the said Queen of Scotland has signed the present Act with her own hand, and signed with her own seal the Arms of Scotland.

MARIE R.

This paper will explain itself. It is quite natural to think there would be attempts to murder such a despot as Elizabeth, and the wonder is that some of them were not successful. It was necessary that Mary should avoid all such conspiracies, and therefore she wrote this declaration in her own defence, and for her own protection.

One of Mary's followers was allowed to go to Scotland by Shrewsbury's consent, and see how the

young prince was getting on. He returned and reported that her son loved her much. This was a source of much joy to her. Who the commissioner was and what was his report we are not informed. She was again allowed to go to Buxton, and spent June and July there. This concession of Elizabeth was believed to be a return for the presents Mary was constantly giving her. It is a curious fact that Burleigh, at the same time, was also requiring these famous waters, and he also went to Buxton. Elizabeth, when she knew of it, concluded that Burleigh had become partial to Mary, and that he went to Buxton to ingratiate himself with her.[1] She charged him with falling in love with Mary, ordered his immediate return, and accused him of disloyal intrigues with Mary at the expense of his duty to her. Nobody was less likely to fall in love with Mary than Burleigh. He was a man of a repulsive nature, and with a heart as unimpressionable as that of Elizabeth. On his return Elizabeth expressed her surprise at his conduct in visiting Buxton at the same time as the Queen of Scots. Burleigh was "stranded" for once, and though he repudiated the charge it was of no avail.[1] Mary must have been a fascinating woman, for no sooner had

[1] *Chalmers.*

Elizabeth disposed of Burleigh, than she charged Shrewsbury with falling in love with Mary. He was so displeased that he begged her to relieve him of his appointment, which he was quite justified in doing, in the face of such an accusation. At Buxton Mary lived at the Old Hall, then a large establishment. Its central tower, where she and her attendants lodged, is still standing, and the apartments are still to be seen, and form a great attraction to visitors. She was fond of Buxton on account of its bracing air, and the benefit she derived from its waters. Visitors had to quit the place when she was there, by command of Elizabeth. Lady Shrewsbury, who had now been released from the Tower, accompanied her husband to Buxton. She and Lady Margaret Lennox had been confined there some months. On the 11th of November Lady Margaret wrote a pathetic letter to Mary, which, it would appear, Mary never saw. This was so far fortunate,[1] as it has been preserved for the benefit of posterity, and is another proof of the innocence of Mary regarding Darnley's murder. The other letters of Lady Margaret were all seized or destroyed by Wade and Paulet at Chartley. But the preserved letter is of great importance, and is expressed in

[1] *Strickland.*

such apologetic terms as to leave no room for ambiguity.

Lady Margaret Lennox to the Queen of Scots.

Hackney, November 10, 1575.

It may please your majesty, I have received your token and mind, both by your letter and otherwise, much to my comfort, specially perceiving what jealous natura care your majesty hath of our sweet and peerless jewel in Scotland. I have been as fearful and careful as your majesty of him, so that the wicked governor should not have power to do harm to his person, whom God preserve from his enemies. I beseech your majesty, fear not, but trust in God that all shall be well. The treachery of your traitors is evidently no better than before. I shall always play my part to your majesty's content, so as may tend to both our comforts. And now must I yield your majesty my most humble thanks for your good remembrance and bounty to our little daughter, her who some day may serve your highness. Almighty God grant unto your majesty a long and happy life.

Your majesty's most humble and
loving mother and aunt,
MARGARET LENNOX.

Postscript by Elizabeth, Countess of Lennox :—

I most humbly thank your majesty that it pleased you to remember me, your poor servant, both with a token and in my Lo : gr :'s letter, which is not little to my comfort. I can but wish and pray God for your

majesty's long and happy estate... I may do your majesty better service, which I think long to do, and shall always be as ready thereto as any servant your majesty hath, according as by duty I am bound. I beseech your highness to pardon these rude lines, and accept the good heart of the writer, who loves and honours your majesty unfeignedly.

Your majesty's most humble and
lowly servant through life,
E. Lennox.

These two letters show that the Lennox family had at last seen the treachery of Elizabeth, and the innocence of Mary respecting the murder. This was a satisfaction to Mary to the end of her life. Lady Margaret Lennox, under Elizabeth's inspiration, had spoken bitterly against Mary, but when she found the truth she made a humble apology, and became Mary's most attached friend.

During the latter part of this year (1575), Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh was reported to be returning to Scotland, and Douglas of Lochleven got up an armed force of five hundred men to seize him. Argyll, Atholl, Mar, Lindsay, and Ruthven supported the movement, which came to nothing. Indeed, there is no confirmation of Hamilton having actually returned.

Mary's new French secretary, Jacques Nau, informed the Archbishop of Glasgow (1st of June,

1575) that Elizabeth was this summer to visit the baths at Buxton, to slip away from her court in disguise, and to visit Mary at Chatsworth.[1] This news was too good to be true.

The following letter of Queen Elizabeth to the Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury may be regarded as a stroke of Elizabeth's wit :—

June, 1576.

RIGHT TRUSTY FRIENDS,—Being given to understand from our cousin of Leicester how honourably he was lately received and used by you and our cousin the countess at Chatsworth, and how his diet is by you both discouraged at Buxton, we should do him great wrong, holding him in that view as above favour, in case we should not let you understand in how thankful sort we accept the same at both your hands. Therefore we think, for the securing of our credit, to make you a proposition of diet, which we mean in no case you shall exceed. And that is to allow him by the day, for his meat two ounces of flesh, referring the quality to yourselves, so you exceed not the quantity, and for his drink the twentieth part of a pint of wine to comfort his stomach, and as much of St. Anne's sacred water as he careth to drink. On festival days, as is fit for a man of his quality, we can be content you enlarge his diet by allowing him for his dinner the shoulder of a wren, and for his supper a leg of the same, besides his ordinary crusts. The like proportion we mean you shall allow unto our brother of

[1] *Labanoff.*

Warwick, saving that we think in respect that his body is more replete than his brothers, that the wren's leg allowed at supper on festival days be abated, for that light suppers agree best without relief of physic. This order, our meaning is, you shall inviolably observe, and so may you right well assure yourselves of a most thankful debtor to so well deserving creditors.

ELIZABETH R.

The Earl of Leicester had become enamoured of her and she of him, but in matrimonial matters she was a general lover, and that was all the length she would go. She was in love with several others as well as Leicester, and any record we have of these escapades is not creditable to her.

In 1577 an extraordinary circumstance occurred. This was a proposal of Morton to espouse the cause of Mary and restore her to her throne. The proposal was made in Edinburgh at an interview between Morton and Lord Ogilvy. Morton stated that—

"he would not do the queen any harm for all the wealth in the world. He would rather serve her and her race than any living creature. He must be sure that she would forget and forgive the past, and he would do all in his power to restore her to her estate."

These words were reduced to writing by

[1] *Hosack.*

Ogilvy, in a letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow, dated April, 1577. Admitting that Morton spoke these words, were they or were they not sincere? It was an age of duplicity and treachery. Morton was an expert at that game, and was largely responsible for the persecution and captivity of Mary. His regency was reeking with blood, and was rotten to the core. The news of this interview was communicated to Mary, and the fact that she was not in the least cheered by it indicates that she had no faith in Morton's sincerity. The historian puts it thus, and we think he is right:—

"When she got the information she instinctively recoiled from all correspondence with a man whom she could not but regard with abhorrence; all circumstances considered, she simply desired her ambassador in Paris to take for the present no notice of the matter farther than to thank Lord Ogilvy in her name for the zeal he had all along exhibited in her service." [1]

In criticizing this unexpected attitude of Morton we must bear in mind that hitherto he had been Mary's determined enemy. This is the man who would now do the queen no harm for all the wealth in the world. There are two considerations which appear to explain this incident.

[1] *Hosack.*

First, Morton was a man steeped in duplicity, and presumably had no intention of fulfilling his promise. As regent he was in a position to release the queen, and why did he not do so, if he was sincere? Second, his regency was unpopular, and described by some of the nobles as "detestable." He knew this, and probably thought if he actually brought back the queen he would be more respected as her prime minister, and would practically have the same power and influence. His words were evidently thrown out as a feeler. No more was heard of the matter, and the fact that Mary never entertained it restricts the question to only one answer.

In the end of May Mary was again allowed to go to Buxton, and she remained there till the 11th of July, when she returned to Sheffield. She had scarcely been settled down when a peremptory order was received from Elizabeth to remove her to Tutbury. It has been facetiously said[1] that this order was probably caused by Leicester having declared that his physician had ordered him to drink the Buxton waters and use the baths for twenty days. Evidently Leicester was also about to fall in love with the Queen of Scots, though he is reported to have been one of

1 *Strickland.*

Elizabeth's suitors. Elizabeth would not allow him to go farther than Ashby de la Zouch, and she requested that the Buxton waters might be sent to him there. This incident must have been regarded by Elizabeth's court as a great joke. Leicester was a highly unpopular nobleman, and in some respects not unlike Morton, for he thought nothing of sacrificing human life to gain his ends. This incident therefore must have called forth general gratification.

This year Mary was employed making every effort to get her son out of the hands of Morton. In this she was assisted by her mother-in-law, Lady Margaret Lennox. Queen Mary says: "I praise God that she becomes daily more sensible of the faithlessness and evil intentions of those whom she formerly assisted with her name against me."

Mary spent much of her time corresponding with various public men with the view of securing her son's release from Morton. She also sent Nau, her secretary, to Scotland, with some little presents to her son, such as a vest embroidered with her own hand; a locket with a device composed by her, in black enamel and gold. The parcel being addressed, "James, Prince of Scotland," and not King of Scotland, the secretary was not allowed to deliver it.

Argyll and Atholl, who could no longer put up with Morton's regency, resolved to raise a rebellion against him. On the 4th of March, 1578, they entered Stirling with a body of troops, and got access at once to the young king. Alexander Erskine, governor of the castle, and brother of the late Regent Mar, favoured these men and despised Morton. They begged the prince, who was now twelve years of age, to take the government into his own hands. Erskine supported this proposal, as also did Lindsay, Ruthven, Ogilvy, Glamis, and Tullibardine. Lindsay and Ruthven, curiously enough, had now deserted him. Morton, when he heard of this movement, sent a message to the young king denouncing the conduct of Argyll and Atholl, but he little knew that these men had actually got access to the king's presence. He required speedy and exemplary punishment of these offenders, otherwise he would resign the regency. This was too good an offer for the nobles, and they called a convention, which unanimously resolved that the king should take the government on himself. We are informed[1] that before Morton had time to withdraw his offer, Lord Herries and Lord Glamis waited upon him with a message

[1] *Tytler.*

from the king requiring his immediate resignation. The die was cast, and he received the unexpected intimation with equanimity, rode into Edinburgh with those two nobles, and heard it proclaimed at the market cross. Randolph wrote to Killigrew on the crisis: "All the devils in hell are stirring and in great rage in this country: the regent is discharged, the country broken, the Chancellor Glamis slain by the Earl of Crawford." Glamis was accidentally killed in a scuffle by Crawford's retainers. Atholl was appointed chancellor in room of Glamis, and, as he was an enemy of Morton, it met with his disapproval, but it was an indication that his power and influence were on the decline. A council was appointed to advise the young king, and to be responsible for the government. The first thing they did was to require Morton to deliver up Edinburgh Castle, Holyrood, the Mint, and the queen's jewels. Like all great tyrants when overpowered, Morton had collapsed, and agreed to give up everything without a word. He retired, whether to Dalkeith or Lochleven is not clear.

On the 10th of March, 1578, Lady Margaret Lennox, mother of Darnley, died at Hackney very unexpectedly, a few hours after Leicester

had dined with her. Mary, writing of her to the Archbishop of Glasgow, says :—

"This good lady was in correspondence with me these five or six years, and has confessed to me, in writing by her own hand, the injury she did me by the unjust persecutions she allowed to go out against me in her name, on account of being badly informed, but principally by the express orders of the Queen of England and the persuasion of her council. As soon as she came to hear of my innocence she refused her consent to anything they should do against me in her name."

On the 14th of April, 1578, Bothwell died at the fortress of Dragsholm, Denmark, where he was kept prisoner by the King of Denmark. In his last words he acquitted Queen Mary of all knowledge of Darnley's murder, and testified to her unqualified innocence.

The young Earl of Mar, son of the regent Mar, now came on the scene. Morton joined him, and they concocted a plot for Mar's restoration to the governorship of Stirling Castle, and guardianship of the young king. On the 26th of April, Mar, at the head of his retainers, entered Stirling, surprised the castle, and got admittance. A scuffle ensued, in which the governor was deforced, and his son and others were killed. Mar was master of the situation, and when the king's council arrived next morning and demanded

admission, they were promptly refused unless they chose to see the king one only at a time. Though the council instantly issued a proclamation, it was disregarded, for Douglas and his retainers, as well as Morton, espoused the cause of Mary. Mar and his uncle came to an agreement, Mar taking Stirling Castle and the surveillance of the king, and his uncle Edinburgh Castle.

On the 8th of May, Morton, Argyll, and Atholl, met at Craigmillar, where they resolved to go to Stirling next day and adjust differences, but Morton early next morning rode off to Stirling with a small retinue in violation of this resolution, entered Stirling Castle unexpectedly, seized the young king, and re-established himself in the supreme authority. Argyll and Atholl were irritated, and were determined to resent this insult. The young king called a convention to meet in Stirling Castle. These earls refused to attend, and sent Lindsay to say so. The convention was a fiasco. The next move was a meeting of Parliament, called for July in Edinburgh, but Morton, knowing his unpopularity, ordered it to assemble in Stirling Castle. It is said to have been opened by the king in person, but these earls and many of the nobles declined to attend, as it was not a safe place in respect that

it was an armed fortress held by Morton, their determined enemy. There was a heated discussion, from which it was evident that Morton absolutely controlled the king. Nothing came of this meeting, but the people of Edinburgh resolved that the king should be rescued, and they immediately took up arms. Argyll and Atholl assembled their forces on the 13th of August, and marched to Falkirk to fight Morton. The animosity against Morton was keen, and it was believed he was keeping the young king a prisoner. The English ambassador, with instructions from Elizabeth, came forward and pled for peace, and eventually succeeded. Morton maintained his position, though he never regained the regency. He became one of the king's council of twelve. Some months afterwards, viz. on the 25th of April of the following year, Atholl died suddenly at Kincardine Castle near Auchterarder, under circumstances of much suspicion. He attended a banquet given by Morton the previous night at Stirling Castle, on the occasion of his reconciliation with Morton, where it is believed poison was administered to him. He was the main cause of Morton's downfall, and this was probably the reason for the poisoning. Morton, on being challenged with it, said, "I would not for

the Earldom of Atholl have administered poison to him, or caused it to be administered." There was a post-mortem by several physicians; but they disagreed on their verdict, and the matter dropped.

After the unexpected death of Atholl, his wife, described as a lady of the most unsullied reputation, applied for permission, along with her daughter, to share the hardships of Queen Mary in her English prison, and to wait upon her there. This was an act of true devotion, and a proof of her faith in Mary's innocence. This lady was present at the masked ball at Holyrood, on the night of Darnley's murder, and was in a position to give an opinion of the queen's innocence or guilt. We should have expected Elizabeth to have granted so humane a request as a matter of course, but her tyrannical nature would not allow her, and it was peremptorily refused.

In September, Esme Stuart, nephew of the Earl of Lennox, arrived from France, for the purpose of getting possession of the Lennox estates, in succession to his uncle, which otherwise would have fallen to the king, who was a relative. The king gave him the estates, as also Dumbarton Castle. The presence of this young man at the Scottish court gave uneasiness to

Elizabeth and Burleigh; and Walsingham was instructed to watch him. Elizabeth, in her excitement, is said to have sanctioned a plot for his assassination and the imprisonment of the young king. She afterwards revoked this foolish and unwarrantable act. Young Lennox, unfortunately, did not live long. He died in Paris, in 1582.

In the Duke of Atholl's Collection we find the following letter, printed by the Hist. Man. Commission, and it is important to notice from it that Mary has no doubt as to Morton having poisoned Atholl. She implores the countess to look specially after the young king, and to take a motherly charge of him—a request, in the circumstances, that was very natural, as this lady was one of the few of her devoted friends now remaining.

Queen Mary to the Countess of Atholl.

Sheffield, March 18, 1580.

My good Aunt,—I heard by my secretary your faithful good will and cheer towards me, as also of your two sisters, and am heartily sorry that he might not show his commission to my son. It would have been for his weal and mine too, as he is likely to perceive by the dealings of our false traitors. Not content of your good lord's death by poisoning him so wickedly, but, as I hear, counselled your son to agree with his

murderer and marry one of his greatest friend's daughters, a great enemy to me. Your consent, I am sure, you would never have given or making your friends privy to it. Well, whoever is wise hath cause now to look about them, for all those he likes or trusts are in as great danger now as ever they were, and my poor boy as much envied as ever I was. But the Stuarts now are all in one rank like to feel that they were never well off but to serve other folk's turns. I am sure you shall hear more. Nau says that he understood not by your sister that you could have had the tokens, for he would willingly have left them with you. I pray you inquire what Crosbie has done with the little gowns. I would now we had them and would know if he has had my book and picture. The Lord Seton had the last and G. the book. I pray you let me hear the truth of his health, for some inform me that he is sickly and not likely to live. I had myself great sickness and indigestion at his age, and will not forget that; but let me know if he has any cough. For God's sake take heed to him, and see him often. God knows how sorry I am that I did not put him at first with you, when I was so great a fool as to trust that unthankful false woman. God will redress all our wrongs one day, whom I beseech to have you and yours in his protection. Commend me to your sister and your daughter.

Your loving and assured good cousin and friend,

MARIE R.

The King of France was now (1580) giving his attention to Mary's desolate and cruel position,

and promised that he would send an ambassador to England to negotiate with Elizabeth for her release; but without an appeal to arms any such negotiation was hopeless. On the 28th of July, Mary again went to the Baths at Buxton, and Elizabeth would not allow any one to see her when there, but her attendants. She remained three weeks and returned to Sheffield. A painful accident occurred as she was leaving for Buxton, which she thus describes :—

"As ill luck would have it, those who were assisting me to mount my horse let me fall backwards on the steps of the door, from which I received so violent a blow on the spine that for some days past I have not been able to hold myself upright. I hope, however, with the good remedies I have employed to be quite well before I leave this place."

Morton was now becoming alarmed for his safety, as various rumours were afloat about Darnley's murder. A son of Lord Ochiltree, and brother-in-law of Knox, a Mr. James Stewart, who had been a soldier in France and Russia, a man of a daring spirit, now came forward as Morton's adversary. On the last day of the year a council was held at Holyrood in presence of the king. Stewart, who was captain of the Guard, entered the chamber, and, falling on his knees

before the king, declared he had a crime to reveal which had lain too long concealed. Then, pointing to Morton, he accused him of Darnley's murder, and demanded his arrest. Morton, who looked with contempt on Stewart, denied the charge, but was at once arrested, and conveyed a prisoner to Dumbarton Castle, of which Stewart was governor. Strange to say, Morton was not tried for five months thereafter. Elizabeth was determined to save him, and sent Randolph into Scotland with *carte blanche* to effect that purpose. His first move was to charge Lennox with being an emissary of the pope, and he reproduced some intercepted letters from the Bishop of Ross in proof of the charge. Lennox denounced the letters as forgeries. It was discovered that Archibald Douglas, cousin of Morton, *had forged these*, and this caused Randolph to immediately disappear.[1] This Douglas was one of Darnley's murderers, and, by some, supposed to have been accessory to the forged Casket Letters. Captain Stewart, as a reward for his accusation of Morton, was made Earl of Arran, in room of young Hamilton.

It is noticeable that while Knox ranged himself on the side of Morton during Mary's

[1] *Hosack.*

reign, his brother-in-law should espouse Mary's cause, and practically cause Morton to be executed.

Mary was much delighted to hear of the arrest of Morton, and, as showing the unabated interest and activity she exercised in all Scottish affairs, she executed a commission appointing the Duke of Guise Lieut.-General of Scotland, and empowering him to open a treaty in her name with her son and the nobles. This document was intercepted, and fell into the hands of Elizabeth and Burleigh. Her instant removal was ordered to Ashby de la Zouch, but, as she was too ill to be taken there, the soldiers disregarded the removal order, and allowed her to remain. To her great joy she received a letter and a present from her son, the only one that had reached her in her prison home. He was now fifteen years of age.

In the Record Office there is a remarkable paper, of fifteen pages, entirely in the queen's handwriting, containing religious reflections on adversity of which she had had so much experience. Various examples are cited from scripture and from history by which those who read her little discourse shall learn of others equally afflicted as themselves, and shall find that their remedy has always been in turning to God, who will invite them to do so also.

The paper is as follows :—

"He who wishes that his work may not be ridiculous or pointed at by every finger, makes so good a summary of the subject which he claims to treat upon, that no one can say to him, this is mere empty talk. 'Ne sutor ultra crepidam.' That is why, leaving philosophy to philosophers, and laws to legislators, notes of music to those who make songs, enriched by fiction, metamorphoses, history, and profitable teaching—in brief, giving each an opportunity to render some witness according to his vocation,—I have thought I could not better employ my time, during the idleness in which I have not the means of executing the duty to which God has called me from the cradle, than to write about the discomforts, and my thoughts on the experiences, so unfitting for one of my rank, of the diversity of afflictions and the different events of this and that enterprise. In my opinion nobody can justly find fault with me because of my subjects, which are so familiar; and I have as much experience as anybody of our age, even of my rank, in which at least the benevolent may have occasion to exercise their charity and obey that command which is given us, to 'weep with those who weep.' When they shall come to consider, to what afflictions we are daily subject, they will take occasion in time, before it is too late, to return to Him, that by prayers and earnest devotion they may turn His anger to nought. . . . Every kind of adversity has, by its commencement in the greatest troubles, an unhappy end for those who are obstinate in their ways, and who, by forsaking God, have been punished by Him for not wishing to recognize and amend their ways. And of these things we can

always bring some examples as much from the Scriptures as from foreign history or great people of modern times. From these we see that those who have brought such works have received just punishment of the God and Father whom they acknowledge to have so often and previously offended, and by this means their sufferings have served to bring out their real virtue, and even to open their eyes to evil by loving what is the source of all good, and at least of learning to despise this world and all its vanities. They will thus be able to resign themselves to everything under the good pleasure of their Creator, who rewards them for it, has given them earthly blessings and heavenly ones which are worth much more. And we may conclude with the grace of God and our own resolutions and prayers to Him that it will please Him to give me patience in the same misfortunes, and grace to amend my life and behave so well, that I may be quite worthy to be among the number of those latter martyrs, bearing my cross in the world willingly, where, according to my knowledge, mine is the first rank of adversity. One may have the evil and guilty conscience which grows and vexes the possessor, so that he has no repose and cannot sleep because, says Cicero, 'in conscience are a thousand stings; and he was so led to despair by this pernicious pest as to make one of his own household kill him.' Abimelech, after being slightly wounded by a stone a woman dropped on him, caused one of his men to kill him. Ahithophel, seeing his counsel against the king rejected, killed himself. Zimri, like a traitor, killed his king, and then, after a reign of seven days only, miserably perished in a fire in the palace. Worst of all,

Judas, for thirty pieces of silver, betrayed that holy, just, and innocent Man. But leaving the Bible, let us turn to history, where we read of the horrible end of Marcus, Marcellus, and of Catiline, who, seeing his defeat, preferred to end his life, rather than suffer remorse and opprobrium. But I say, that all those feeling themselves unworthy and repenting of their sins, should in humility turn towards God, because of the promise He has made, 'Come unto Me all ye who are heavy-laden, and I will give you rest.' Our Saviour Himself, curious of His reputation, inquires of His disciples, 'Who do men say that I am?'

"The example of Cain, who, seeing his brother's sacrifice was more acceptable than his own, was filled with envy, and committed a crime worthy of infamy, for he shed the blood of his brother. Upon which he was reproved by God, so careful of His own, who entreats us to return to Him and confess our faults; saying, 'Whosoever will seek Me, shall find Me.'

"Jeroboam, being reproved by the prophet for his sin, committed a crime in killing him, not recognizing that the true dishonour was his own sin.

"Herod, again, was persuaded by wicked influence to cut off the head of that holy and just prophet, but his sin did not evade punishment, for it was publicly known. He refused the grace and pardon of God, and his name remains an example to the world of a villainous and abominable life.

"St. Stephen, because he reproved the people for their sins, was stoned to death, procuring for himself immortal glory, and they their eternal damnation. He, when dying, prayed God to forgive them.

"There is remedy for all, since God has said, 'though our sins be as scarlet, He will make them whiter than snow.' And to the innocent their glory will be greater if they bear their cross patiently.

"It is said that a good citizen is the most honourable title a man can claim. Coriolanus puts our duty to our country before wife and mother.

"There was a man called Peter Chancellor, one of the worst men, of low condition, but always with so good intentions as to duty, that he was found worthy of all confidence, and having conducted himself so well that the Emperor Frederick II., seeing his usefulness and ability, gave him authority to do or undo whatsoever he wished in his council. Chancellor, in return, invented letters, and gave intelligence concerning the emperor to Pope Innocent, his chief enemy. The emperor submitted him to a test in which he perished immediately.

"But let us look at a noble and virtuous prince, to whom I feel honoured to be related, who could not endure dishonour to his illustrious name, through the fault of a wicked subject, whom it would not be honourable of me to name. He proceeded against this subject to avenge an injury at the peril of his wealth and reputation. This is how he received the afflictions and chastisement of God in humility and patience. A Christian should never permit himself to murmur at the ways of God that he has merited; and for all crimes and dishonour, in repenting we cannot hide ourselves from God. Has he not said, 'though our sins be red like scarlet, He will make them whiter than snow'? If we are innocent our reward shall be greater and our glory

more excellent for having patiently supported the cross imposed upon us, to increase our merit and to prove us at all times, in whatever misfortune we may lie, day by day. The wisest and noblest and most virtuous of men will lose their lives and hazard their souls for the sake of honour.

"We shall have to answer one day to the great Shepherd about the flock we were entrusted to look after. God knows that, for my part, I have had great meditation and suffering.

"In my opinion, everybody of good nature who has received some talent from God, should distribute these talents in order to increase the knowledge of His mercy. He who receives them and neglects them is driven back to eternal doom, and he who makes them profitable shall receive a double reward, and shall be called into the infinite joy. This we learn from the parable of the man, who, going into a far country, leaves to one of his servants three talents, to another two, and to another one (Matt. xxv. 19.)

"As humility is the most pleasing virtue to God, it ought of all others to take root, grow, and attain full perfection (Jer. v.)

"Tears for her son and for her banishment. God have pity on her soul and help her to bear her cross according to the law.

"'Miserere mei saltem.'"

Endorsed: "Much erased and altered."

The last paragraph is a bitter cry from the poor captive, who evidently, at this stage, fairly

broke down, and the continuation of the paper was not resumed. The paper, which is not to be criticized as an effort for publication, was written more for perusal by herself during those long weary years of her captivity, than for the edification of mankind. It indicates the mind and disposition of the queen, and her entire confidence and trust in the Almighty. That this paper, breathing as it does the spirit of true Christian charity, should have been preserved in the State Paper Office is of great importance, in helping us to form an estimate of the piety and unaffected simplicity of character of the Queen of Scots.

In the Imperial Library of St. Petersburg is a richly illuminated missal, formerly the property of Queen Mary, having various verses written in her own autograph. In allusion to one of the illuminations are the following lines (translation). At what date she wrote these it is impossible now to ascertain.

I.

As it was formerly, honour is no longer valued by the world, and so the thing which we then loved limits its changing course.

II.

She who overwhelms each one with the noise of her praise and her honour, can only resemble her a little in this, in being nothing less than a beautiful angel.

J. C. Armytage.

Mary Stuart.

GIVEN TO SIR HENRY CURWEN OF WORKINGTON HALL, BY QUEEN MARY.

III.

I pass my days and my hours in the exact order that is appointed for me, leaving my sad abode to increase my light here.

IV.

A heart that outrage wounds by scorn or by repulsion has the power to say, "I am no longer what I once was."

V.

If our thoughts are elevated by thinking of a beautiful angel, we ought not to esteem it a strange thing that they merit approval.

VI.

For a recompense and for a reward for my love and for my fidelity, give to my guardian angel as much of those two things as I owe you.

VII.

My friends pretend to alter their watchfulness; all the good they wish me is to desire my death, and if, when dying, I should be unconscious, they would cast lots for my garments.

VIII.

Only to those who have a bold and restless spirit does it belong to bear these arms, since we have no fear of war alarms in the rich and powerful but unkindly times.

IX.

Much more useful is time than fortune, seeing that the latter is as often changeable as it is favourable.

X.

Old age is an ill which we cannot cure, and youth a blessing that no one can husband. Thus it comes about that man as soon as he is born is near to death, and he whom we think happy labours but a longer space.

XI.

I who always had a contrary fate if life is less useful to me than death; and sooner than change the coming of my misfortunes, each one changes from the course of honour and nature on my account.

MARIE R.

CHAPTER XVII.

Trial and execution of Morton—Letter, Mary to Elizabeth—Pierre Ronsard incident — Weakmindedness of James—Scheme of France and Spain for Mary's release—Letter, Mary to Bess Pierrepoint—Death of Lord Herries—Execution of Ruthven—Shrewsbury discharged, and Sadler, Mildmay, and Somers appointed—Conversation with Mary and Somers—Lady Shrewsbury's separation from her husband—She and her two sons appear before Elizabeth and make an apology—Letter from Mary to Mauvissière—Death of Lord Seton—Mary writes Elizabeth—Sadler and Somers resign and Paulet appointed —Mary prevented from giving charity—Imprisonment of her closest friends—Mary removed to Chartley—Phillips, the spy from Elizabeth, arrives on the scene—Restoration of the Hamiltons and Gowries.

The trial of the Regent Morton for the murder of Darnley took place at Edinburgh on the 1st of June, 1581. Morton admitted he knew of the murder, and had concealed it. On this admission he was condemned and found guilty, and his estates forfeited. He was ordered to be executed at the market cross of Edinburgh, and his body thereafter to be drawn and quartered, and demeaned as a traitor. This sentence was carried out next day,

and his head was thereafter fixed on the Tolbooth. He confessed before his death that Maitland and Bothwell were the instigators of the crime. That was only part of the truth, for Moray, Lindsay, and Ruthven were also instigators. The historian says—

"It is much to be lamented that the clergy attending him did not see the importance of making him confess or deny whether he found or forged the Casket Letters, which the conspirators attributed to the queen."[1]

And so this great ruffian, who more than any man was responsible for the captivity and ruin of the Queen of Scots, passed to his doom. His removal was a relief to the nation. That his body should be drawn and quartered, and no dissenting voice raised against it, is an unquestionable indication of the public feeling. Morton's unscrupulous character, his duplicity, his dishonesty were only eclipsed by his brutality and cruelty; while his private life was noted for its corruption and immorality. During the latter half of the sixteenth century, a considerable number of the Scottish nobles manifested precisely the same features of character, but in a modified form. We shall search in vain for a similar half-century of treachery

[1] *Chalmers.*

and bloodshed. The maiden, the instrument by which Morton was beheaded, was brought by himself from Halifax for public executions, and it is a curious fact that he was the first who was executed by it.[1] The elder Tytler says—

"Without one good quality of heart, without honour, without honesty, he was avaricious, rapacious, cruel, revengeful. He was stained with every crime, and living in the open violation of every principle of virtue and morality."

Elizabeth this year wanted an apology from James, for not allowing her messenger Accrington to enter Scotland. To procure this, she was base enough to attempt some fair devices with Mary, in order to get her to influence her son. These were that she would be allowed to take all the exercise necessary for her health, and that Shrewsbury would be allowed to use his discretion, and that her physician would be permitted to attend her.[2] Mary advised her son of this, and he wrote Elizabeth—

"That the persons he had forbidden to enter his realm were notorious agitators, and that his own safety required him to do as he had done."

This, of course, did not please Elizabeth, but

[1] *Sir John Scott.* [2] *Labanoff.*

she had to pocket her feelings for once and submit to the inevitable. Writing from Sheffield on October 10th, Mary asked Elizabeth's advice as to overtures by James respecting his title, and expressed her inclination to yield to his wishes. She bitterly complained that she had been so long in captivity, and desired to be released.

The report of the physician as to Mary's health at this period was very unsatisfactory, and she wrote Elizabeth what she considered would be her final letter. In eloquent terms, she said—

"I will appeal to the living God, our only judge, who has established us both alike immediately under Himself for the government of His people; I will invoke Him to the close of this my very heavy affliction to deal with you and me, as He will do at His final judgment, according to our deserts. And remember, madam, that to Him nothing we have done can be disguised by the paint and policy of this world, although my enemies under you might for a time hide from me, and perhaps from yourself, their subtle and malicious inventions and practices. The vilest criminals now in our gaols and born under your authority are admitted to be tried for their justification; why should not the same privilege be accorded to me, a sovereign queen, your nearest relation and legitimate heir? My enemies have little reason and less need to torment me longer, for I now look for no

other kingdom than that of my God, whom I see preparing me for the best conclusion of all my sorrows and adversities. Your imprisoning me without any right or just pretence has already destroyed my body, of which you will shortly see the end. Nothing remains of me but the soul, which it is not in your power to fetter."

That this eloquent and pathetic letter was warranted by her cruel persecution we think there is no room to doubt, and that it made no impression on Elizabeth need not occasion much surprise.

Mary recovered from this illness. Her spirits were considerably raised by an eminent French author, Pierre Ronsard, dedicating a volume of poems to her. She accepted this as a great compliment, and gave the author a magnificent recognition, viz. a casket containing two thousand crowns, and a silver vase with the device of a Pegasus drinking at the fountain of Castalia, inscribed, "À Ronsard l'Apollo à la Source des Muses." Towards the end of summer Mary was taken to Worksop in Notts, where it is said she planted thirty orange trees with her own hands. These trees are still pointed out at Worksop.

The young king appears to have been fond of his mother at this time, which is evidenced from the following letter :—

"Be assured that in all the adversities I have sustained for love of you I have never failed of, nor been turned from, my duty and affection towards you, but, on the contrary, they augment with every trouble that befalls me."

His letters were mostly intercepted and cruelly kept from her.[1] In one of them he received her ring, sends her one in return, and begs her to send her portrait. As he had regained his liberty and executed Morton, she was in hopes that he would release her. James was afraid of Elizabeth, and would do nothing to displease her. For this weak-kneed policy posterity has justly condemned him. He was a weak man, mentally and physically, otherwise he would have taken vigorous steps to release his mother. Most of her enemies were dead, and the people of Scotland would have rallied round her standard if he had taken up such a position.

A formidable scheme was organized for Mary's release, whereby the Spanish and French troops were to join those of James which numbered two thousand. He was to make a raid into England with these on Mary's behalf; but, unfortunately, the matter came to Elizabeth's ears, as also the names of some English nobles

[1] *Strickland.*

who were connected with it. She imprisoned the young Earl of Northumberland and the young Duke of Norfolk, Lords William and Henry Howard, and others, to signify her displeasure. This was a choice opportunity of releasing Mary had James been equal to the occasion, but it is evident he was not. Had he exerted himself he would have had the support of the nobles in the north of England as well as these foreign troops. To Mary it was an overwhelming misfortune, and crushed her most cherished hopes. Shortly after this we find her writing a very genial letter to one of her young friends—

DARLING,—I have received your letter and good tokens for which I thank you. I am very glad you are so well. Remain with your father and mother this season if willing to keep you, for the air and the weather are so trying here that I already begin to feel the change of the temperature from that of Worksop, where I did not walk much, not being allowed the command of my legs. Commend me to your father and mother very affectionately; also to your sister and all I know, and to all who know me there. I have your black silk robe made, and it shall be sent to you as soon as I receive the trimming for which I wrote to London. This is all I can write to you now, except to send you as many blessings as there are days in the year, praying God to

extend His arm over you and yours for ever. In haste, this 13th September.

Your very affectionate mistress and best friend,

MARIE R.

[Endorsed:] To my well-beloved bed-fellow, Bess Pierrepoint.

This letter was intercepted, and it is unknown whether it ever reached its destination.

This year died Mary's attached and faithful friend Lord Herries, a nobleman whose devotion to the queen was dearer than life itself. His loyalty through all her cruel persecution was unshaken, and her release from captivity became the one object of his life. He was the fifth Lord.

We have little to record in 1582–1583. The events of that period consist of negotiations between Elizabeth and James; his association with his mother; plots for her release and a steady correspondence between Walsingham and Beale respecting Mary, her position and prospects; Mary offering to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, and reside in England if released. Elizabeth, however, remains immovable.

On the 18th of April, 1584, James Stewart, Earl of Arran,[1] who was at this date the strongest man in Scotland, caused the Earl of Gowrie to be

[1] Second son of Lord Ochiltree and Lady Margaret Hamilton

arrested in Dundee and conveyed to Edinburgh, for being concerned in a conspiracy against the king. On the 3rd of May, Gowrie was brought up for trial, and condemned and executed the same day. He was a son of Ruthven who stabbed Riccio, and he was the ruffian who accompanied Lindsay to Lochleven to imprison Mary, and afterwards committed the outrage of compelling her to abdicate. His two sons were the men who formed the Gowrie conspiracy in 1600, and were assassinated. It was the widow of this earl who fell on her knees before the king in the High Street of Edinburgh, as he was returning from Parliament, to beseech him for protection for herself and her thirteen children, made homeless by her husband's execution and the forfeiture of his estates. The king, not having forgotten the Raid of Ruthven in 1582, for which her husband was responsible and for which he was executed, would not look at her, although she seized his cloak to stop him. Arran forced her away, and, it is said, marched over her, and the lady swooned and had to be carried to the nearest house.

A paper in the Record Office, dated in April, informs us that William Wade, an ambassador of Elizabeth, dined at Sheffield with Shrewsbury. He was sent to have a conference with Mary. It

would appear that there were letters from France for her which Shrewsbury opened and read before delivering to her. She was in great indignation about this, and complained of Elizabeth's conduct in allowing it, and made a bitter speech about her long imprisonment. Wade had the insolence to remind her of what he called "Elizabeth's clemency" towards her, at which she broke out into a fit of anger.

In June, Mary was again permitted to go to Buxton, where she remained till August. When leaving this famous place, where she had enjoyed so much benefit and pleasure, she wrote with the point of a diamond on a pane of glass on the window of her bed-chamber, in the Old Hall, the following couplet in Latin—another proof, if such were needed, of her cultivated intellect and classic taste :—

"Buxtona quæ tepidæ celebrabere numine lymphæ,
Buxtona fortè iterum non adeunda vale!"

"Buxton, whose tepid fountains' power, far famed, can health restore;
Buxton, farewell! I go—perchance to visit thee—no more."

Shrewsbury was now discharged from the office of gaoler; and Sadler, Mildmay, and Somers substituted. In the autumn, Shrewsbury went to London to reside. He was at once sent for by Elizabeth to give information about Queen Mary, and specially if she bore Elizabeth great

ill will, and if reliance could be placed in Mary's promises. He replied, "I believe that if the Queen of Scots promise anything, she will not break her word." He was fifteen years Mary's keeper. It is recorded that, while at Wingfield, no less than two hundred and twenty gentlemen, servants, and soldiers were employed to guard Queen Mary. Truly a pitiable state of the country; and what a formidable personage Mary must have been to require such a guard! Every night a guard of soldiers were within the house, and eight were perpetually pacing outside, four of whom watched under the windows of her apartments. There was one redeeming feature in Shrewsbury, before he retired he allowed her personal retinue to be increased from sixteen to forty-eight. This was an immense comfort to Mary, and helped wonderfully to beguile the time. On the 2nd of September, Mary left Sheffield for the last time, and went to Wingfield Manor. Somers was an old friend, having met her in her happy days in France. Mary and he had some charming conversations, which are recorded at some length by historians.

The conversation which took place between Mary and Somers appears in the Calendar of State Papers, under date September 2, 1584.

As it has already been published,[1] it is not necessary that we should do more than reproduce the main points of it. After expressing her grief for her long captivity of sixteen years, and by sorrow and ill health become old in body, she said it was a matter of much vexation to her that Elizabeth had no confidence in her words. Her son was now in search of a wife, and it was evident he meant to give his affections to the highest bidder. Some had heard the Princess of Lorraine named. She said there was such a proposal, but she thought it would not hold: but the Duke of Florence had offered his daughter of fourteen or fifteen years of age, and a million of crowns with her. There was also a proposal for a daughter of Denmark, with great sums of money: also a daughter of Spain; to which latter she said merrily, "So as her son might have the low countries withall, it were not amiss." In regard to her escape, she said "she would rather die in this captivity with honour than run away with shame." If she were at liberty she would go to Scotland—

"only to see my son and to give him good counsel. I would never stay there long; nor would I seek to govern where I have received so many indignities. My heart

[1] *Strickland.*

could not abide to see those who have done me so much evil, being my subjects, whereof there are some yet remaining. I would go into France to live among my friends there, with my portion, and never trouble myself with government again: nor would I marry, seeing I have a son who is a man."

She begged Somers, in conclusion, to influence Elizabeth to release her, "that she may live the rest of her days out of this captivity."

This year Mary was greatly annoyed at a rumour that she was too intimate with Shrewsbury. She at once mentioned this to Lady Shrewsbury, but that lady only laughed at the absurdity of it. Mary wrote to Mauvissière, French ambassador in London, to make a representation to Elizabeth, and to the lords of her council—

"of the just displeasure I feel to the very depths of my heart at the wrong and inexpressible injury which is inflicted on me in this matter. There is nothing but what I would willingly sacrifice for the vindication of my honour."

There would appear to have been a quarrel between Lady Shrewsbury and her husband, about property matters, which ended in an open rupture and separation. Lady Shrewsbury, who is stated not to have been a woman of an exemplary character, was found to be the author

of this rumour, and for no other reason than mere mischief. She shortly after went to London. Mary, who was determined not to lie under such a scandal, requested Elizabeth to cause this lady and her sons to appear before her (Elizabeth) and her council, and prove or recant the scandal they had circulated. Elizabeth gave the order, and they duly appeared before her in November, and on their knees declared that they were slanderers, and liars, and that the ridiculous story, which from the vilest motives they had circulated, was entirely an invention of their own. In addition to this there is a State Paper containing a protestation of the Countess of Shrewsbury and her two sons of the chaste and honourable deportment of the Queen of Scots, and of their disbelief of the scandalous falsehoods spread abroad against her.

The following is the letter referred to, slightly condensed, and an important letter it is, from the Queen of Scots to M. Mauvissière :—

Wingfield, October 18, 1584.

No reply having come from the Queen of England concerning the treaty proposed between her, me, and my son, and not having received any news from you for six weeks, I cannot but doubt that this delay has been purposed to give time and advantage to the Countess of Shrewsbury, in order that she may play her game and

trouble those on every side possible, to escape the just punishment of her fault and treason, and to give the lie to the queen, her sovereign, to these malicious reports, so harmful to me. I would make, with all affection possible, the request from myself, and in the name of monsieur my good brother, and the noblemen, my relations in France, that you will give a satisfactory and clear explanation to the Queen of England and those of her council of the false and scandalous rumours that everybody knows have been invented and spread abroad by the countess, of my intercourse with the Count of Shrewsbury. I beg you to proceed with all haste in a public examination, or at least before the council, and in your presence particularly, of her and her two sons, Charles and William Cavendish, whether they will confirm or refute the rumours and language they have previously maintained, that in the cause of reason and justice they may be punished as an example, there being no subject so poor, vile, and abject in this kingdom to whom common justice can be denied. Such satisfaction would be granted to the meanest subject, how much more to one of my blood and rank, and so closely related to the queen. But here I am, bound hand and foot, and, I might say, almost tongue-tied. I can do nothing for myself to avenge this atrocious and wicked calumny. May it please you to remember the definite promise made to me by the queen, which I have mentioned before in four or five letters to you, that she had always hated the liberty and insolence so largely encouraged in this corrupt age in the slander of kings and primates, and that she would do all in her power to repress this evil. I will give her the names of the guilty

originators of this scandal, and in proof of her words she will be obliged to execute a rigorous and exemplary punishment upon them. I name to her now the Countess of Shrewsbury and her son Charles especially, to convict them of this unhappy slander. If not, I ask but their own servants and those of the count usually in the house should be put on their oath to God, and their allegiance to the queen, and examined, for I know too well that some of them otherwise will never have the chance of giving witness, and the countess would maintain her rumours for truth. One of her servants has told me that she has caused this scandal to be spread in divers parts of the kingdom, and that they have heard her in the room of the count reproaching him similarly. And to come to particulars, for some months at Chatsworth there was staying one of the grooms of Lord Talbot specially to inquire concerning this. He has nothing to say of me under the name of the Lady of Bath. I cannot but think the countess has power to silence her friends, who would otherwise be too convincing witnesses of the falsehood of these rumours against the queen, her sovereign, so that she will do wisely not to force me to rouse the witnesses, for if I demand justice on them, and am refused, I will produce, before all the princes of Christendom, by articles signed by my own hand, an account of the honourable proceedings of this lady, as much against the queen as against me, against whom she had formerly spread this rumour. I will give a declaration of their time, persons, and all friends, so necessary that it will not be pleasing to those who are constant in condemning. And in the wrongs that she has done them, if there are any of them

to support her and to countenance those injuries which I have received from her, or if in such a case there is a question of my honour, it will always be to me more than earthly life. It may be after so long and painful captivity, I am constrained and obliged to put before the public anything which may offend them or do harm. In that it is for them to remedy and obviate by giving me reparation and satisfaction for scandals and impostures. God grant that at the end I may find true what the countess has formerly told me, that the more she could show herself my enemy, and work against me, she would be so much the more welcome and more favoured at court.

MARIE R.

Burton speaks of the "egregious extent of the vanity of the Queen of Scots, her unappeasable appetite for flattery which the most monstrous and ludicrous exaggeration cannot satiate." Thus he tells us of the quarrel with Lady Shrewsbury, and of the story of the "captive seducing her lord," and that from this affair "she came forth free of taint." After this ungenerous criticism we should have expected Burton to have given us the whole truth and to have told us that Lady Shrewsbury and her two sons were humiliated and punished as the authors of this scandal. As to his statement that the entertainment and appointments of Mary "lead to the inference that they were on a costly scale," we say the inference leads to the very

opposite conclusion. It is not the case that she received £3000 a year as her French dowry. The dowry during her whole captivity was never paid in full. Frequently she tells us how her officers in France took advantage of her captivity to keep back her money. Not unfrequently during her captivity she was without a shilling, and unable to purchase even the very clothes she had to wear.

In November, Nau got permission to go to London, and plead for Mary's release; but Elizabeth was impervious, and evidently would only be moved by military force. She detained Nau some weeks in order to exercise some of her buffoonery. Mary wrote complaining of the detention of her secretary; concluding—

> "May God give you as many happy years as I for the last twenty have had sorrowful ones. Wingfield, the 8th December, the 42nd anniversary of my birth, and 16th of my imprisonment."

At the close of this year Elizabeth showed a desire to come to terms. Mary was ready to renounce everything, her religion and rank excepted, for the recovery of her liberty. She was prepared to accede to Elizabeth's demands, and even to sign a bond making herself and her

son joint rulers. This scheme, by the treachery of that traitor the Master of Gray, completely fell through. This man alienated Mary and her son, and formed a plan for the alliance of Elizabeth and James and the exclusion of Mary. This was backed by Burleigh, and, to Mary's great grief, eventually succeeded. It is said that James was bribed with a pension from the English queen, and we think this highly probable. He ought to have been proud of such a mother, and taken steps to release her from captivity, but he had the meanness to sell himself for English gold.

"As she was held captive in a remote place he declined to associate her with himself in the sovereignty of Scotland, or to treat her otherwise than as queen mother,"—

so he writes to his mother, evidently at the dictation of his advisers. It nearly broke her heart; in short, according to some writers, the excitement which it caused her nearly bereft her of her reason. In writing on the subject to the French ambassador, she said—

"Without him, I am and shall be of right as long as I live his queen and sovereign; but he, independently of me, can only be Lord Darnley or Earl of Lennox. I desire not to govern in Scotland, nor even to set foot there again, unless it were to visit him on my way to some other

country. I neither want from him aid, pension, support, or entertainment of any kind whatsoever, not having received a single penny from Scotland since I left it."[1]

On the 4th of January, 1585, Charles Paget wrote the Queen of Scots to try and escape in man's clothes, and assistance would be given her by a priest named Dollman, well acquainted with Tutbury and district. On the 5th of January she wrote from Wingfield a declaration promising to be an enemy to all those who should attempt anything against Elizabeth's life; and on the 13th of January, Sadler her gaoler wrote Walsingham that the diet of the Queen of Scots and her household amounted to £70 per week.[2]

On the same day Mary was transferred to Tutbury Castle, a wooden erection on which the sum of £500 was to be spent to make it fit for her reception. She was quite lame, and unable to walk. Her left foot had shrunk, and was shorter than the other. All this was due to her imprisonment. Elizabeth, in the practice of her usual penury, endeavoured to beg and borrow bed and table linen, and other articles of household furniture, from the neighbouring gentry—a proceeding which was contemptible. She appears to have retained Mary in prison for no other

[1] *Labanoff.* [2] State Paper Office.

object than the daily pleasure of tormenting her.[1] Such a great retinue as was about Mary, including the guard, required a lot of provisions, and these were not to be had in sufficient quantities. Sadler, in his report, stated that—

"the immediate neighbourhood is already eaten bare by the long residence of so many people, firing very scarce, coal being the principal fuel whereof sixteen or seventeen loads are used weekly, brought in trains drawn by bullocks three deep, and foul roads. When the river was up, the bullocks had to swim, to the great grudge of their owners."

The roads were such that Mary and her retinue could only travel eight miles a day. The first night they slept at Babington Hall, Derby. The lady of the house, Mrs. Beaumont, received her at the door.

"Queen Mary kissed her, saying she was come hither to trouble her, and that she also was a widow, and therefore trusted they would agree well enough, having no husbands to trouble them."[2]

The queen was taken into a parlour on the ground floor, Mrs. Beaumont and her sister attending to her in the most affectionate manner. Somers, one of her keepers, intruded himself into the

[1] *Chalmers.* [2] *Strickland.*

rooms for the purpose of preventing Mary receiving or despatching letters, or giving them to Mrs. Beaumont.[1] A number of men were told off to watch the place from the outside all night, so that the poor captive might not escape. On arrival at Tutbury they found the place almost unfit to live in, and the furnishings poor and deficient. As an illustration there were few blankets and nine pairs of sheets for forty-eight people. Ten or twelve beds had no bolsters, while many essential things had been sold or stolen.

At this date, January 20th, we have an announcement of the death of Lord Seton[2]—a nobleman of high principle and integrity, whose devotion, and attachment, and allegiance to Queen Mary remained unshaken to the hour of his death. She was indebted to him for many noble and generous acts on her behalf, and his death occasioned her profound grief.

On March 22nd, Elizabeth favoured Mary with one of her hypocritical letters, informing her of Parry's confession regarding her, and of the wish of Parliament to revive the intended judicial

[1] The husband of this lady died in 1584. He bought the house of the Babington family in Derby, and it was in this house Mary spent a night.

[2] The head of the Seton family.

proceedings against her ; submits that it is not a fit time to enter into treaty with her for her liberty, and defends Paulet against her ill opinion.[1] Mary's courageous spirit was beginning to show signs of breaking down, and this was not surprising after all the suffering she had come through. On March 23rd she wrote Elizabeth calling attention to the straits to which she was reduced by not being allowed to communicate with her son. She has resolved to proceed in the treaty without him, and to retire from the world. She offers to renounce all right to the crown of England ; and in respect of the usurpation of her throne by her son, if he persists in rebellious proceedings against her, and she (Elizabeth) helps him, she will be forced to disavow him. She is determined to die with honour.

Sir Ralph Sadler and Somers disapproved of the treatment Mary was receiving, and resolved to resign office as a protest against such persecution. Elizabeth had great difficulty in finding a successor, as not one of the English nobles would have anything to do with it. At last she got a man of harsh and uncourteous manners, a man exactly suited for her purpose, a man without a soul—Amias Paulet, who, like a coward,

[1] State Paper Office.

boasted to Burleigh how sternly he would treat the helpless captive. Mary took an antipathy to this man at first sight. When Sadler and Somers left her she gave them letters to Elizabeth imploring her to put her in some better or more comfortable place, as she was dying by inches; but the request, to Elizabeth's disgrace, was treated with silence.

On May 28th a very insolent letter was sent by Walsingham to Paulet, desiring him to open packets addressed to the Queen of Scots; to restrain her charity by not suffering her alms to be distributed; and to cause the apprehension of a certain person who was engaged in the conveyance of letters to her.[1]

Queen Mary was in the habit, from her little means, of dispensing charity to the poor around Tutbury. The first thing Paulet did was to stop that. Whether this contemptible proceeding was his own voluntary act or was the effect of Walsingham's letter is not clear. Mary requested Mauvissière to remonstrate with Elizabeth about it, but it was in vain. It was a great addition to Mary's sufferings that she had to lament the brutal treatment of some of her closest friends because it was thought she was planning means

[1] State Paper Office.

for her escape. The Earl of Arundel and her physician, Dr. Atslow, were imprisoned and put on the rack to compel information, and they were nearly killed; while the Earl of Northumberland, who was also a prisoner, committed suicide or was murdered. All this was due to Elizabeth's administration. On the 10th of July, Mary again wrote the ambassador of the wretched condition of her prison-house, and requested him to put the matter before the English queen; but Elizabeth was obdurate, and refused to do anything. The Countess of Atholl and her daughter again petitioned for leave to join Mary in her captivity, but the request was not granted. Two Protestants, however, Barbara and Gillies Mowbray, daughters of Sir John Mowbray, were allowed to join Queen Mary's household. The first thing that happened was that one of the Mowbrays fell in love with Gilbert Curle, one of Mary's secretaries. In November they got married at Tutbury, and Mary gave them a marriage present, said to be two thousand crowns, or £2000, which, if true, indicates that Mary had plenty of money at this period.

Mary at this date took very ill, and lost for some time the use of her right hand and arm. On the 8th of October, Lord Claude Hamilton,

a devoted friend, wrote her from Paris, offering his services in any way that might tend to her relief and liberty.[1] On the remonstrance of the Court of France against Mary being kept any longer at Tutbury she was removed to Chartley, at Christmas. Phillips, secretary to Walsingham, arrived there about the same time. He was a spy and, unknown to Mary, he opened and copied all her private correspondence by the express command of Walsingham, Elizabeth's secretary. This was a dastardly proceeding, but in all probability it was part of Elizabeth's programme for Mary's destruction, as subsequent events showed. This led up to the Babington conspiracy, and, if the narrative is critically followed, it will be seen how skilfully Walsingham placed his men on the chessboard and played the game of accomplishing the ruin of the Queen of Scots at the sacrifice of his morality, his virtue, and his honour.

At this period the Hamiltons and other exiled lords raised a rebellion against Arran, who was administering the affairs of the kingdom under the king. On the 30th of October, 1585, they marched as far as Falkirk, thence to Stirling, where Arran was, and attacked and captured the town. Arran,

[1] State Paper Office.

realizing that he was completely overpowered, made his escape, but Montrose and Crawford retired within the castle. Negotiations were opened with the king, and Arran's power declared to be at an end; and on the 7th of November, Lord John Hamilton, Angus, Mar, and Lyon, master of Glamis, were appointed Privy Councillors. Arran, who was a Stewart, was deprived of his title, which was restored to the Hamiltons. At a parliament held in Linlithgow on the 1st of December, an Act was passed restoring the banished lords, including the Hamiltons, and abolishing the forfeitures. The Gowrie family were also restored to their estates.[1] These are believed to have been very extensive, but their extent has been greatly exaggerated by various writers.

[1] *Marwick.*

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Babington Conspiracy.

THE last and final trouble Queen Mary had to face was the Babington Conspiracy. Its object was her release, and nothing more; but we shall see, as the narrative proceeds, how the assassination of Elizabeth was treacherously introduced into it. This was an age when tampering with letters was one of the fine arts. In the service of Elizabeth were spies and experts, by whom letters were copied so perfectly that it was impossible to distinguish between the original and the copy. These men made interpolations by order of their chief, and in reproducing, included these as part of the text. This plot extended over a period of eight months, viz. from January to September, 1586. France and Spain, being Catholic countries, were warmly attached to Mary, and interested in her release, but the rulers of those countries did not get on with each other.

The spies were Gifford and Phillips. Gifford,

though a Catholic, was an enemy of Mary, a plausible fellow of good address. He had spent some time in France, and met there the Archbishop of Glasgow, and several of Mary's friends. He proposed to them a plan by which Mary might freely communicate with her supporters. Not suspecting him, they concurred, and despatched him to London with proposals to the French ambassador. This was presumably the origin of the conspiracy. Gifford repeated his proposal to the ambassador, who received it with some suspicion; but, like a true spy, he was not to be dissuaded from his purpose. He obtained a second interview with the ambassador, which was of a more reassuring nature, as he was permitted after it to come about the Embassy, and was allowed to have letters addressed to him there. Being a Catholic, he had access without suspicion to Mary's Catholic friends in London, and his policy was full of sympathy for Mary when he was amongst them. The ambassador sent him to Chartley with a letter to the queen. Gifford, in place of delivering it, went direct to Paulet with it, and whether or not she received it does not appear. It was on this occasion that Gifford made the surreptitious arrangement with the brewers. Chartley is not far from Burton, and the brewer's

cart from there delivered his beer once a week for Mary's household. Gifford, with Paulet's connivance, arranged to have a box constructed and inserted in the bottom of the barrel, for the conveyance of letters. This was understood by Mary to be unknown to Paulet and her enemies, as it was so represented to her, so that she might be the more easily entrapped. The butler, it would appear, when he drew off the beer, handed the box which contained letters to one of Mary's secretaries. The following week, when the brewer's cart returned, the box with Mary's replies was returned; and so this treacherous arrangement went on, Mary being ignorant of the trap set for her. She never once suspected that every letter she wrote was sent to London, opened, deciphered, several copies taken, then sent to its destination.

To Walsingham's great disappointment none of these letters incriminated the Queen of Scots. Gifford resolved to go to France and plausibly invite Mary's friends to form a plan for her release, so that he might still further draw her into the net. We have but a very scant record of his doings there. It would appear that he begged of them, while forming this plan, not to think of releasing her by force, otherwise Paulet would

take her life. On the other hand, if Elizabeth were made away with, the Queen of Scots, he said, would be acknowledged by the leading nobility.[1] This is the first mention of the assassination of Elizabeth, and we must pay particular attention to the circumstances under which it is stated. Gifford, Elizabeth's spy, suggests it to Mary's friends in the hope that they will correspond with the Queen of Scots about it, and, as he would intercept the letters, this would enable him to bring about what evidence he required to ensure her execution. Gifford, having completed his negotiations in Paris, returned to London, where he met, for the first time, Anthony Babington, a respectable young man, but simple and easily led, and, in Gifford's hands, "as clay in the hands of the potter." Gifford told him the plans for Mary's release ; but, though he was a Catholic and a friend of Mary, he resented the proposal to assassinate Elizabeth, and refused to have anything to do with it. Gifford, being baffled at this point, appears to have gone again to France to push forward the matter, though what transpired there is not recorded. On his return he was accompanied by an English priest, named Ballard, formerly a spy,

[1] *Labanoff.*

who was willing and anxious to enter into this conspiracy for Mary's release. There was also with him a man named John Savage, who declared his wish to kill Elizabeth with his own hand because of her cruelty to the Queen of Scots.[1] Babington therefore visited some friends in London, and disclosed to them the plot, and they all met every night in a selected house and discussed matters. As showing the perfection of Walsingham's arrangements, one of his spies *incognito* was actually amongst these men, and attended their meetings every night. Little did Babington and his simple accomplices know that Walsingham knew their every movement. At this date Morgan, who was a prisoner in the Bastille, but who was a friend of Mary, wrote her on April 24th, cautioning her to have no correspondence whatever with Ballard. His reason evidently was to keep Mary in the dark about the conspiracy, whereas, if she wrote Ballard, he would tell her all about it. On the 9th of May he is said to have written her, advising her to write Babington,

"I am of opinion that it shall not be amiss that your majesty write three or four lines of your own hand to the said Babington, declaring your good opinion of him,

[1] State Trials.

and the confidence you repose in him, and thank him for his good affection towards your majesty."

The following is what Mary is alleged to have written from this draft :—

My very good Friend,—Albeit it be long since you heard from me not more than I have done from you ; it is against my will ; yet would I not you should think I have in the meanwhile, nor ever will be, unmindful of the effectual affection you have showed me before towards all that concerneth me. I have understood that on the renewing of your intelligence there were addressed to you both from France and Scotland some packets for me. I pray you, if any be come to your hands, and be yet in place, to deliver them to the bearer, who will safely convey them to me, and I will pray to God for your preservation. Your assured good friend. Chartley, June 25th.

There is reason to believe that both these letters are forgeries. They are, as will be seen, inconsistent with Morgan's letter of April 24th, and the activity and vigilance of the spies leave the impression that they wrote both. On the 27th of June a mysterious packet arrived at Chartley from Phillips to Mary. Paulet, as usual, opened it, and he declined to give it to her. What the contents were is not recorded, and can only be conjectured, but he delivered it to Walsingham, advising him not to press the subject matter

of it, as it would lead to dangerous results, and might overturn the scheme they were presently engaged in. Walsingham concurred, and the matter dropped. This was an admission by Elizabeth's emissaries that they were engaged in this conspiracy. It has been said that there was a letter enclosed to Paulet, instructing him to take away Mary's life privately. Babington replied to the letter of the 25th of June; and as upon it and the reply to it the whole case of this conspiracy against Mary stands, we give both letters in full.

Babington to the Queen of Scots.

July, 1586.

May it please your gracious majesty to admit excuse of my long silence and discontinuance from those dutiful offices intercepted upon the removal of your royal person from the ancient place of your abode to the custody of a wicked Puritan and mere Leicestrian, a mortal enemy both by faith and faction to your majesty and to the Catholic estate. I held the hope of our country's weal depending on the life of your majesty to be desperate, and therefore resolved to depart the realm, determined to spend the remainder of my life in such solitary sort as the miserable and wretched state of my country doth require; only expecting, according to the just judgment of God, the present confusion thereof, which God for His mercy's sake prevent. The which my purpose being in execution and standing upon my departure, there was

addressed to me from the parts beyond the seas one Ballard, a man of virtue and learning, and of singular zeal to the Catholic cause and your majesty's service. The man informed me of great preparations by the Christian princes, your majesty's allies, for the deliverance of our country from the extreme and miserable state wherein for a long time it hath remained; which, when I understood, my special desire was to advise by what means I might, with the regard of my life and all my friends in general, do your majesty one day's good service. Whereupon, according to the great care which these princes have of the preservation and safe deliverance of your majesty's sacred person, I advised of means and considered of circumstances accordingly, to and with so many of the wisest and most trusty as with safety I might commend the secrecy thereof. I do find, by the assistance of the Lord Jesus, assurance of good effect and desired fruit of our travail. These things are first to be advised in this great and honourable action, upon the issue of which dependeth not only the life of your majesty, which God long preserve to our inestimable comfort, and to the salvation of English souls and the lives of all as actors therein, but also the honour and weal of our country, far more dear than our lives unto us, and the last hope to recover the faith of our forefathers, and to redeem ourselves from the servitude and bondage which heretofore hath been imposed upon us with the loss of many thousand souls. First, for the assuring of invasions sufficient strength in the invaders' parts to arrive is appointed, with a strong party at every place to join with them and warrant their landing, the deliverance of your majesty, *the despatch of*

the usurping competitor. For the effecting of it all may it please your majesty to rely upon my service. I protest before the Almighty, who hath long miraculously preserved your loyal person no doubt to some universal good, that what I have said shall be performed or all our lives happily lost in the execution thereof. Which vow all the chief actors have taken solemnly, and are, upon assurance by your majesty to me, to receive the blessed sacrament therefrom, either to prevail in the Church's behalf and your majesty's, or fortunately to die for so honourable a cause. Now, forasmuch as delays are extremely dangerous, it might please your majesty by your wisdom to direct us, and by your princely authority to enable us and such as may advance the affairs; foreseeing there is not any of the nobility at liberty assured to your majesty in this desperate service except unknown to us; and seeing that it is very necessary that some there should be to become heads to lead the multitude who are disposed by nature in this land to follow nobility; considering withal it doth not only make the commons and country to follow without contradiction, which is ever found in equality, but also doth add great courage to the leaders. For which necessary regards I would recommend some to your majesty as are fittest in my knowledge to be your lieutenants in the west parts, in the north parts, South Wales and North Wales, the counties of Lancaster, Derby, and Stafford. In all which counties parties being already made and fidelity taken in your majesty's name, I hold them as most assured and of undoubted fidelity. Myself, with ten gentlemen of quality and one hundred followers, will undertake the delivery of your person

from the hands of your enemies; and *for the despatch of the usurper, from obedience of whom, by the excommunication of her, we are made free, there be six noble gentlemen, all my private friends, who, for the zeal they bear the Catholic cause and your majesty's service, will undertake the tragical execution.* It resteth that, according to their infinite deserts and your majesty's bounty, their heroic attempts may be honourably rewarded in them, if they escape with life, or in their posterity; and that so much by your majesty's authority I may be able to assure them. Now it remaineth only in your majesty's wisdom that it be reduced into method *that your happy deliverance be first, for on that dependeth the only good*, and that the other circumstances concur—that the untimely end of the one do not overthrow the rest, all which your majesty's wonderful experience and wisdom will dispose in so good manner as I doubt not, through God's good assistance, shall take deserved effect; for the obtaining of which every one of us shall think his life most happily spent. Upon the 12th day of this month I will be at Lichfield, expecting your majesty's answers and letters to execute what by them shall be commanded. Your majesty's faithful subject and sworn servant,

ANTHONY BABINGTON.

Mary's alleged answer to Babington :—

Chartley, July 17, 1586.

According to the zeal and entire affection which I have known in you towards the common cause of religion, and since having always made account of you as

a principal and right worthy member to be employed both in the one and in the other, it hath been no less consolation unto me to know your estate, as I have done by your last letter, and to have further means to renew my intelligence with you, than I have felt griefs all this while past to be without the same. I pray you, therefore, to write unto me hereafter, so often as you can, of all concurrents which you may judge in any sort important to the good of mine affairs, wherein I shall not fail to correspond, with all the care and diligence possible. For divers considerations, too long to be dealt with here, I cannot but greatly praise and commend your common desire to prevent in time the design of our enemies for the extirpation of our religion out of this realm with the ruin of us all; for I have long ago showed to the foreign Catholic princes what they have done against the King of Spain, and in the time the Catholics here, remaining exposed to all persecutions and cruelty, do daily diminish in number, forces, means, and power, so as, if remedy be not speedily provided, I fear not a little, but that they shall become altogether unable for ever to rise again to receive any aid at all when it is offered. Then, for my own part, I pray you assure our principal friends that, albeit I had no particular interest in this case, that all that I may pretend unto being of no consideration to me in respect of the public good of the state, I shall be always ready and most willing to employ therein my life, and all that I have or may look for in this world. Now, to ground substantially this enterprise, and to bring it to good success, you must examine duly (1) what forces, as well on foot as on

horse, you may raise among you all, and what captain you shall appoint for them in every shire, in case a general cannot be had; (2) which towns, ports, and havens you may assure yourselves, as well as the north, west, and south, to receive succour as well from the Low Countries, Spain, and France, as from other parts; (3) what place you esteem fittest and of most advantage to assemble the principal company of your forces at the same time, which would be compassed conform to the proportion of your own; (4) for how long pay and munition, and what ports are fittest for their landing in this realm from the foresaid three foreign countries; (5) what provision of moneys and armour, in case you should want, you would ask; (6) *by what means do the six gentlemen deliberate to proceed*; (7) the manner of my getting forth of this hotel—which points having taken amongst you who are the principal actors, and also as few in number as you can, the best resolution in my opinion is that you impart the same with all diligence to Mendoza, ambassador to the King of Spain in France, who, besides the experience he hath of the estate on this side, I may assure you will employ himself most willingly. I shall not fail to write to him of the matter with all the recommendations I can, as also I shall do in any way that shall be needful. But you must take choice men for managing the affair with Mendoza and others out of the realm, of some faithful and very secret both in wisdom and personage, unto whom only you must commit yourselves, to the end things may be kept the more secret, which, for your own security, I commend to yourself. If your messenger bring you back again

sure promise and sufficient assurance of the succours which you demand, then thereafter (but not sooner, as it would be in vain) take diligent order that all those on your part make, secretly as they can, provision of armour, fit horses and ready money, wherewith to hold themselves in readiness to march so soon as it shall be signified to you by the chief and principal of every shire, reserving to the principals the knowledge of the ground of the enterprise. It shall be enough at the beginning to give it out to the rest that the said provisions are made only for the fortifying of yourselves, in case of need, against the Puritans of this realm, the principal whereof, having the chief forces thereof in the Low Countries, as you may let the report go disguised, do seek the ruin and overthrow on their return home of the Catholics, and to usurp the crown, not only against me and all other lawful pretenders thereto, but against their own queen that now is, if she will not altogether submit herself to their government. These pretexts may serve to found and establish among all associations or confederations what is done only for your preservation and defence, as well in religion as lands, lives, and goods, against the oppression and attempts of the said Puritans, without directly giving or writing out anything against the queen, but rather showing yourselves willing to maintain her and her lawful heirs after her, not naming me. The affairs being thus prepared and forces in readiness both within and without the realm, then *shall it be time to set the gentlemen on work, taking good order upon the accomplishment of their design.* I may be suddenly transported out of this place, and meet without tarrying for the arrival

of the foreign aid which thus must be hastened with all diligence, *now for that there can be no certain day appointed for the accomplishment of the said gentlemen's design, to the end others may be in readiness to take me from hence. I would that the said gentlemen had always about them, or at least at court, divers and sundry scout men, furnished with good and speedy horses, as soon as the design shall be executed, to come with all diligence to advise me thereof, and those who shall be appointed for my transporting; to the end that immediately after they may be at the place of my abode, before my keeper can have notice of the execution of the said design, or at the least before he can fortify himself within the house, or carry me out of the same. It were necessary to despatch two or three of the said advertisers by divers ways, to the end if one be stayed the other may come through; at the same instant it were needful to try to cut off the posts ordinary ways.*

This is the plot that I consider best for this enterprise, and the order whereby we shall conduct the same for our common security; for stirring on this side before you be sure of sufficient foreign forces, that were for nothing but to put ourselves in danger of following the miserable fortune of such as have heretofore laboured in the like actions; and if you take me out of this place, be well assured to set me in the midst of a good army, or some very good strength, where I may safely stay till the assembly of your forces and arrival of the said foreign succours. IT WERE SUFFICIENT CAUSE GIVEN TO THE QUEEN, IN CATCHING ME AGAIN, TO ENCLOSE ME IN SOME HOLD, OUT OF THE WHICH I SHOULD NEVER ESCAPE, if she did use me no worse, and to pursue with

all extremity those who assisted me, which would grieve me more than all the unhappiness that would fall upon myself. Earnestly as you can, look and take heed most carefully and vigilantly, to compass and assure all so well that shall be necessary for the effecting of the said enterprise, as with the grace of God you may bring the same to a happy end, remitting to the judgment of your principal friends on this side with whom you have to deal, therein to ordain and conclude upon these points, which may serve you for an overture of such propositions as you shall amongst you find best; and to yourself in particular I refer the gentlemen aforenamed, to be assured of all that should be requisite for the entire execution of their plans. I have their common resolution to advise: in case the design do not take hold, as may happen whether they will or no, do not pursue my transport, and the execution of the rest of the enterprise. But if the mishap should fall out that you might not come by me, being set in the Tower of London, or in any other strength with strong guard, yet, notwithstanding, delay not, for God's sake, to proceed with the enterprise; for I shall at any time die most contentedly, understanding of your delivery out of the servitude wherein you are holden as slaves. I shall endeavour, at the same time that the work shall be in hand, to make the Catholics of Scotland rise and put my son in their hands, to the effect that from thence our enemies may not prevail by any aid from others. I would also that some stirring were in Ireland, and that it were begun some time before anything be done here, and then that the alarm might arise thereby on the direct contrary side. That the blow may come from

your designs is very pertinent; and therefore were it good to send privately to the Earl of Arundel or some of his brethren, and likewise to seek the young Earl of Northumberland, if he be at liberty from over the sea; the Earl of Westmoreland may be had, whose hand and name you know may do much in the north; also the Lord Paget, of good ability, in some counties there. Both the one and the other may be had, amongst whom secretly some of the principal banished may return, if the enterprise be once resolute. Lord Paget is now in Spain, and may treat of all that by his brother Charles, or directly by himself, what you commit unto him. Beware that none of your messengers that you send forth of the realm carry any letters upon themselves; but write their despatches, and send them either after or before them by some others. Take heed of spies and false brethren that are amongst you, specially of some priests already educated by your enemies for your discovery; and in any case keep never a paper about you that may in any sort do harm, for from like errors has come the condemnation of all such as have suffered heretofore, against whom otherwise nothing could justly have been proved. Disclose as little as you can of your names and intentions to the French ambassador in London; for although he is a very honest gentleman, yet I fear his master entertaineth a course far contrary to our designs, which may induce him to discover us, if he had any particular knowledge thereof. All this while, I have tried to change and remove from this house, and for answer the Castle of Dudley only hath been named to serve the turn; so as by appearance about the end of this summer I may

go thither. Therefore advise me, as soon as I shall be there, what provision may be had for my escape from thence. If I stay here there is but one of three ways to be looked for: First, that at a certain day appointed for my going abroad on horseback, on the moors between this and Stafford, where ordinarily you know but few people pass, let fifty or sixty horsemen, well mounted and armed, come to take me away, as they may easily, my keeper having with him but eighteen or twenty horse, armed only with pistols. Secondly, to come at midnight or soon after, and set fire to the barns and stables, which you know are near the house; and, whilst my guardian's servants come forth to the fire, your company, having duly on a mark whereby they may be known one from another, some of you may surprise the house, where I hope, with the few servants I have around me, I shall be able to give your people aid. Thirdly, some there be shall bring carts hither early in the morning. These carts may be so prepared, that, being in the midst of the great gate, the carts might fall down or overthrow; that thereupon you might come suddenly and make yourselves master of the house, and carry me suddenly away; so you might easily do before any number of soldiers who lodge in sundry places, some half a mile and some a mile away, could come to relieve. Whatever issue the matter taketh, I do and shall think myself obliged, so long as I live, towards you for the offers you make to hazard yourself as you do for my deliverance; and by any means that ever I may have, I shall do my endeavour to recompense you as you deserve. I have ordered a more complete alphabet to be made for you, which you will

herewith receive. May the Almighty God protect you.

Your assured good friend for ever,

MARIE R.

Fail not to burn this privately and quickly.

This was the letter which was the ostensible cause of Mary's execution. We say "ostensible" because Elizabeth was resolved on Mary's execution with or without a cause, and had there been no Babington Conspiracy, the life of the Queen of Scots would have been taken all the same, nothing being easier than for Elizabeth's spies to accomplish this object. This is a long and elaborate letter, and, if it was written by Queen Mary as it stands, she must have been a consenting party to the murder of Elizabeth. It formed the indictment, and the only indictment, against her at Fotheringay.

She there denied that she had ever received any such letter from Babington, or that she wrote any such letter to him; or that she was privy to the conspiracy, or that she was privy to anything for the destruction of Elizabeth or the hurt of her person; confessing, nevertheless, that she had used Babington as an intelligencer for her and for the conveying of letters and packets; and she added, further, that she was not to be charged but by her word or by her writing, and they had neither

the one nor the other to produce against her. The commissioners, led by Burleigh, could not produce it, and it never was produced. The queen was therefore condemned on the letter now printed which is alleged to be a copy of the original. Much controversy has taken place over it, and it has been critically analyzed by some of the best historians. It is now admitted that it is a forgery—that is to say, that the portion we have put in italics[1] never was written by Queen Mary, but was interpolated by Walsingham's orders to please Elizabeth, and to enable him to accomplish Mary's ruin. It will be noticed that this portion contradicts the other portion of the letter, and that when we exclude the part in italics the letter reads correctly. It is a letter of great ingenuity and cunning, written with studious care, and cautioning as well as instructing Babington in respect of the whole scheme. Had Babington not been a youth of great simplicity in believing in the *bona fides* of his companions, some of whom he knew very slightly, he could without much difficulty have carried out the plot to release the queen. But there was an Achan in the camp, a traitor of the deepest dye—Phillips, the paid spy of Elizabeth, but in disguise. Babington had not the

[1] *Hosack.*

Mary Stuart.

From the portrait in the possession of R. G. Erskine Wemyss, Wemyss Castle.

necessary ingenuity and courage to carry out this adventure. Had it been entrusted to George Douglas the result would have been different. The presumption is, that Mary's knowledge of Babington was by correspondence, and that she never saw him. Under that disadvantage, she estimated him at more than his worth. From the information contained in this letter Mary's release would not have been difficult. Twenty men armed with pistols would not have made a formidable resistance, and might easily have been put *hors de combat* if Mary's supporters had been energetic. But somehow there was a great lack of gallantry among them, or Mary never would have been executed. It is incredible that when she was travelling along unfrequented roads, escorted by only twenty men, that her followers could not have rescued her. As usual, there was a scarcity of money, and that resulted in a scarcity of soldiers. Then Elizabeth, with her spies, arrested every one she could lay hands on who was known to be a supporter of Mary, and these men were executed without ceremony. That was doubtless a deterrent as regards Mary's release. Any attempt therefore to liberate her must be by an armed force who could maintain their position against Elizabeth on the one hand

and James on the other, for we have no indication that he would support his mother if she were released. Let us look now at the parts of this important letter which are printed in italics :— "By what means do the six gentlemen deliberate to proceed." This sentence, it will be noticed, has no connection whatever with what goes before, nor with what comes after, and is clearly an interpolation on the original. The next sentence in italics is also an interpolation, for what goes before and what follows read connectedly if the words in italics are eliminated. The next sentence, "Nor for that," etc., and the following in small capitals, "It were sufficient," etc., are contradictory of each other, and could not be written by the same hand. If the former is eliminated, viz. the portion in italics, the letter reads consecutively. It was natural that Mary should write the sentence, "It were sufficient," etc., as she could not but take precautions against Elizabeth seizing her again. The other part, that printed in italics, never was written by Mary. It has been well named "arrant nonsense,"[1] which it undoubtedly is; yet it was on this "arrant nonsense" that she was condemned. The letter is evidently in Phillips's handwriting. Her connivance at the plot for her

[1] *Hosack.*

release was perfectly reasonable, but there is no *bonâ fide* evidence to show that she consented to or had any knowledge whatever of any proposal to assassinate Elizabeth. This was not all. A postscript was added to Mary's letter :—

"I would be glad to know the names and qualities of the six gentlemen which are to accomplish the designment, for that it may be I shall be able, upon knowledge of the parties, to give you some further advice necessary to be followed; as also from time to time particularly how you proceed; and as soon as you may, for the same purpose, who be already, and how far away, are privy hereunto."

In the handwriting of Phillips this is endorsed, "The postscript of the Scottish queen's letter to Babington." That this rambling and clumsy postscript was a forgery does not require much intelligence to see. It would be a libel on Mary to say that she could write such ungrammatical nonsense. But the audacity of these spies is amazing, for they contemplated an alteration and evidently forgot to destroy the MS. It has been preserved to condemn them, and is as follows : after the word "therein," "and even so do I wish to be made acquainted with the names of all such principal persons, as also who be already, as also who be," etc. Had the postscript been Mary's,

what was the reason for blotting out a portion of it, and substituting another ?

In regard to these two letters it was evidently the forged or interpolated copies which were delivered to Mary and Babington, and that are now in the State Paper Office. It is a curious coincidence that in the Leicester correspondence has been discovered a letter from Walsingham to Leicester, dated July 7, 1586, in which the following sentence occurs: "*Surely if the matter be well handled* it will break the neck of all dangerous practices during her majesty's reign." The words in italics are a clear admission by Walsingham that he and his spies were managing the conspiracy. The original of Mary's letter never was discovered. For obvious reasons it has been destroyed, so as to prevent the detection of the forgery. There are two copies in English and one in French in the Record Office, identical with that which we have reprinted.

Walsingham, having now by means of these interpolated letters, got all the evidence he required to condemn the Queen of Scots, proceeded to bring the scheme to a termination. Babington and five of his companions were immediately apprehended, and shortly after another half-dozen were seized and imprisoned.

To popularize this price of villainy, Walsingham contrived to get up a report that the Catholics were rising in rebellion, that they meant to murder Elizabeth and burn the city of London, and that the Spanish army was on its way. This was a plausible action, and calculated to arouse public feeling against Babington and his companions. These men were tried, and executed with great cruelty within a week thereafter. Burleigh's advice to Elizabeth that their sufferings should be protracted was followed to the letter. Gifford, the spy who played so prominent a part in this plot, died not long afterwards, the inmate of a French prison, a fitting termination to his infamous career. As a sequel to this diabolical programme, Mary was taken out for a little exercise on horseback, by Paulet and an escort. She was accompanied by Nau and Curle, her secretaries, and some others of her household. They rode from Chartley to Tixall, three or four miles. At the latter place a company of horsemen came forward with a warrant to remove Mary to Tixall, and arrest her secretaries and take them to London. Mary indignantly protested, but it was no use. It is recorded that she dismounted, and, seating herself on the ground, declared that she would not advance one step

farther in that direction. After persistent pressure on the part of Paulet she gave in, and resumed the journey. She was taken to Tixall, and Nau and Curle to London. At Chartley Elizabeth's agents secured such of Mary's servants as remained behind, and locked them up in separate rooms, so that they could not hold communication with each other. Mary kept up a great correspondence. Not long before this disaster as many as twenty-one or twenty-two packets of letters, which had long lingered on the road, reached her on the same day. Nau cautioned her to burn such a mass of papers, but she declined to do so. The same writer[1] informs us that Nau, after being seized at Chartley, was boarded in Walsingham's house; that he was bribed by a gift of £7000 to betray Mary, and that he did so, and prepared the documentary evidence that was used against her at Fotheringay.

From this date to the day of her death, we know little or nothing more of poor Queen Mary, except such scraps as her enemies choose to tell.[2] After this outrage, Paulet and his companions returned to Chartley, and seized her papers and all she possessed, and sent them to Elizabeth. Thereafter Paulet was ordered to

[1] *Stevenson*, "Nau's Memoirs." [2] *Hosack.*

bring her back to Chartley. Following on this brutal treatment, an act of Mary is worthy of being recorded. On her return to Chartley, she found that Curle's wife had given birth to a child prematurely on account of the prevailing excitement. The mother asked Paulet to allow the chaplain to baptize the child. He refused. Mary, who witnessed this insolence, was in no way discomposed, and, taking the child and placing it on her knee, and suiting the action to the word, sprinkled water over its face, and said, "Mary, I baptize thee in name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost." This heroic incident took place in Paulet's presence, and he stood aghast with horror and amazement. It was characteristic of Mary, for she had a very ready way of brushing aside obstacles. When she found that her apartments had been ransacked, she told Paulet with scorn that he could not deprive her of her English blood nor her Catholic faith. All her money, as well as her correspondence, were taken away by order of Burleigh, as also the money belonging to her secretaries, which amounted to a large sum.

There was evidently more correspondence between the queen and Morgan than is recorded by historians. In the State Paper Office there is

a letter of date July 2, 1586, which on the whole is a mysterious letter, not from what it states, but from what it does not state. Mary was indeed walking on the edge of a precipice, and doubtless she was on her guard as to what she wrote to Morgan, because of the suspicion she had respecting the safety of her letters. This would account for the cautious wording of this letter, and, whatever may be its terms, it is impossible to recognize from it what were the contents of Morgan's letter, to which it is an answer. We can only suppose that Morgan was suggesting to her a plan for her release. The letter is as follows :—

The Queen of Scots to Thomas Morgan.

Chartley, July 2, 1586.

My good Morgan,—For the great care which by your last, dated the 24th of April, you bestow on me, as also I see you know always of all that may bring me comfort, I cannot refrain from giving you thanks therefore, and wish to God I might only let you feel in effect my earnest desire to make my thankfulness appear towards you. Your advice shall be followed, for intelligence with every one shall be met by all on my side as occasion and opportunity shall offer. By my former letter, of the 20th of April, I told you there hath none of those of whom anew you had mentioned to me, made the

demonstration directly of their good will, otherwise than to convey the letters which you committed to them by the French ambassador's hands, one only excepted. Which letters came to this house, as also your last, which was delivered by Pietro, and the same man, having written me a very honest letter by Pietro, forgot his alphabet. He hath omitted to subscribe his name therein, neither hath he given me any sign whereby I may know how to discern him assuredly by another for I have not, nor cannot yet employ him. Albeit I have sent him my answer with a particular alphabet for himself, whoever he be. It was not for me to retain Pietro longer, seeing the eminent danger he was in, besides his desire to the contrary, when he had caused the brethren, kinsmen of his, to save the turn in his absence. I assure you they have acquitted themselves very honestly of the charge and are like to continue with more security than Pietro would have done, who ere now hath informed you of the whole by word of mouth. I have no other to trust to for the service, saving only him whom Pietro provided, nor for any plot I can lay to win me other than hope; and then, if not lost time and labour, to send you the names of such as be here,—my keeper being so extremely watchful over them all, they dare not look or speak to any of mine. Some others fit for the purpose were selected, and were almost instructed before their incoming. I understand he is to be changed before Michaelmas next, and I pray God it may be so, for a worse individual I think is not to be found. I remain in continual pain and grief for the money owing to Paget and to so many others, so

long as it hath been, the whole amounting to five thousand crowns, because (if you remember) I agreed to pay you one thousand thereof by my treasurer. I would that those who encouraged you to purchase the loan, and advanced so much, had been a good way from thence at that time, or that my own means might relieve the same, which they cannot. Albeit it was done before I was aware of it. There is now no remedy but to call upon the authors and answerers for payment, specially the pope and the King of Spain, whose chief ministers had any knowledge of the matter. I do presently write for re-embursing of the same, specially to Mendoza. Likewise I command my ambassador to solicit the same, which I hope shall work some good to the satisfaction of you and others. I have written to D. Lewes, and committed the whole credit to him to deal with the pope for my interest. Mendoza, I hope, will work for your pension, seeing my writing thereof so vitally. Besides which, you shall want nothing for your relief that my means may afford, although (sore against my will) I find them too short as well for that purpose as for the helping of Barasino. Yet by one way or another, I hope to let him know my thankfulness and my remembrance of my obligation towards them. Hart and Fontenoy both recommend your man unto me. He shall conform to your desire, be satisfied, by the next commodity, and the two brevettes of prebends sent you, to be employed as you think best.

So, hoping without ceremony you will excuse the blots and errors herein, as in many more of my scribbles, I pray you be of good comfort and assure yourself that we are careful thereof, resisting constantly and rejecting

continually whatever sinister report or opinion can be moved of you concerning your behaviour towards us. And believe me (who shall never deceive you, God willing) that you are in the favour and good grace of your mistress.

MARIE R.

The historian[1] was right when he said—

"It was the right and the duty of such a prisoner to attempt every possible means for her escape, and it was both natural and just that the Catholic party in England and Scotland should have combined with France and Spain to deliver her from captivity and avenge on Elizabeth such an outrage on the law of nations as the seizure of a free princess."

Mary, having been about nineteen years in captivity, was justified in encouraging every scheme that was got up for her release. With these she was not necessarily acquainted, because she had Catholic friends in France and Spain as well as in England and Scotland, and these did not always communicate their plans to her. And it must be remembered that she never received all her letters. She had one conspicuous quality, her integrity was unimpeachable; and on this point her accusers have signally failed in maintaining their position. The letters we have quoted speak

[1] *Tytler.*

for themselves, and a critical examination of these must convince every impartial reader of the innocence of Mary respecting the conspiracy against Elizabeth's life.

Mary now quitted Chartley for the last time, and was removed to Fotheringay. The feeling of the English population on the way was very marked in her favour, and very hostile to Paulet. At Leicester it was found necessary to hire three men to watch Paulet's coach, lest it should be either destroyed or carried off during the two nights he stayed there with his royal captive. This shows what was the feeling of the people respecting Elizabeth's conduct. They reached Fotheringay on the 25th of September. In this place, with the point of a diamond, Mary wrote on the glass of her window—

> "From the top of all my trust,
> Mishap hath laid me in the dust."

Queen Mary's itinerary during these nineteen years of her captivity was as under :—

1568. May 19. Carlisle Castle to July 13th.
July 13. Lowther Castle.
July 14. Bolton Castle to January 26, 1569.
1569. Jan. 26. Bolton to Tutbury.
April Wingfield Manor for five months.
Sept. 21. Wingfield to Tutbury.
Nov. 14. Tutbury to Coventry.

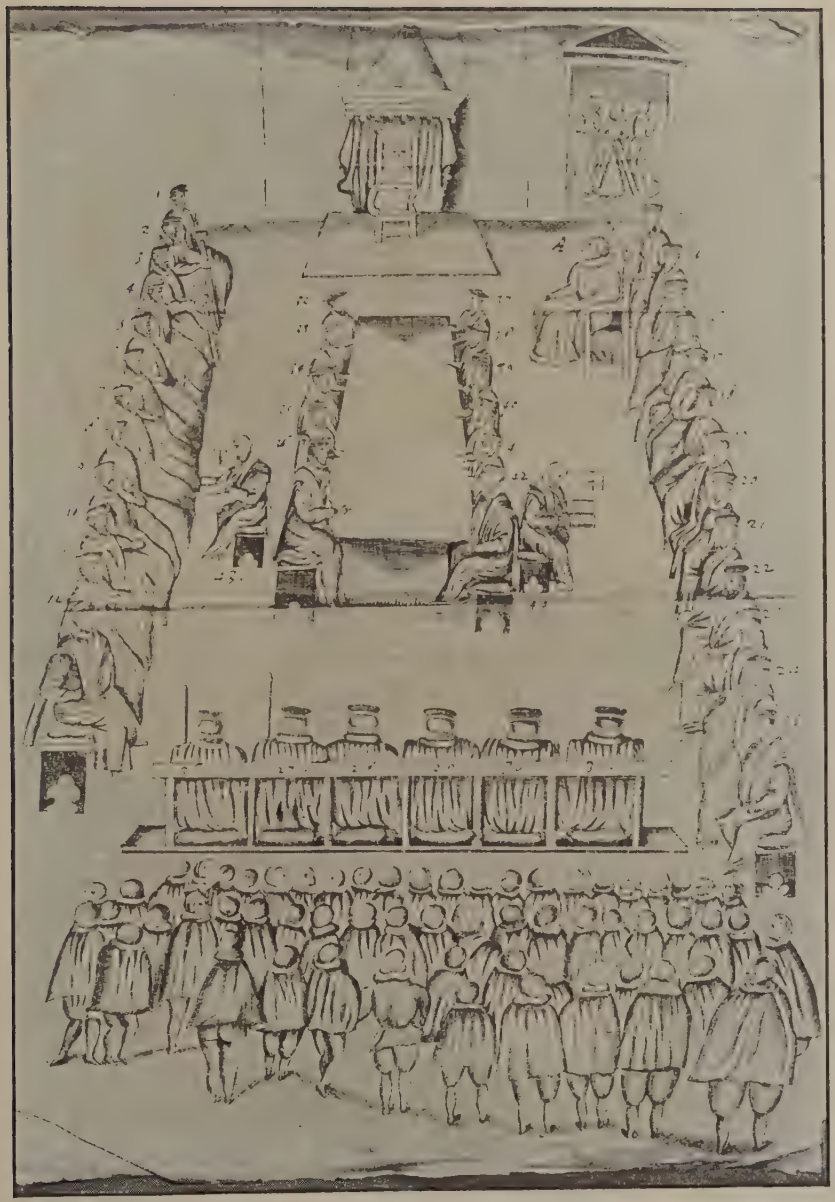
1570. Jan. 2. Coventry to Tutbury.
May 31. Tutbury to Chatsworth.
Nov. 28. Chatsworth to Sheffield, fourteen years.
1573. Aug. 1. Visit of some weeks to Chatsworth.
Sept. 1. „ two weeks to Buxton.
Sept. 15. „ two weeks to Chatsworth.
1575. June 1. „ two months to Buxton.
1577. June 1. „ six weeks to Buxton.
1578. July „ three months to Chatsworth.
1580. Aug. „ three weeks to Buxton.
1581. July „ some weeks to Chatsworth.
1582. June „ „ to Buxton.
1583. Sept. „ „ to Worksop.
1584. June „ „ to Buxton.
Sept. 3. Left Sheffield for Wingfield Manor.
1585. Jan. 13. „ Wingfield for Tutbury.
Dec. 2. „ Tutbury for Chartley.
1586. Aug. 8. „ Chartley for Tixall.
Aug. 30. „ Tixall for Chartley.
Sept. 25. „ Chartley for Fotheringay.

CHAPTER XIX.

The trial of Queen Mary and the close of her eventful life—Elizabeth's conduct after the event—Queen Mary's last letter—The archbishop's eulogy in Notre Dame—The funeral—Proclamation by the Queen of England—Letter, Paulet to Walsingham, respecting Mary's inventories—Paper on the justification of Elizabeth—"Hue and Cry"—Catholic report of Mary's execution—Burton and Froude's criticism.

We now enter on the last act of this great historical drama—the trial of the Queen of Scots at Fotheringay. It began on the 14th of October, before thirty-six commissioners appointed by Elizabeth, and the accompanying illustration [1] will give an intelligible idea of the trial scene. At the upper end of the great hall, where the trial took place, stood the dais of estate, emblazoned with the arms of England and surmounting a throne. In front of the dais, and at the side of the throne, a seat had been prepared for Queen Mary—one of her crimson velvet chairs, with a cushion of the same for her feet. Benches were placed on each side of the room; those on the right were occupied by the Lord Chancellor

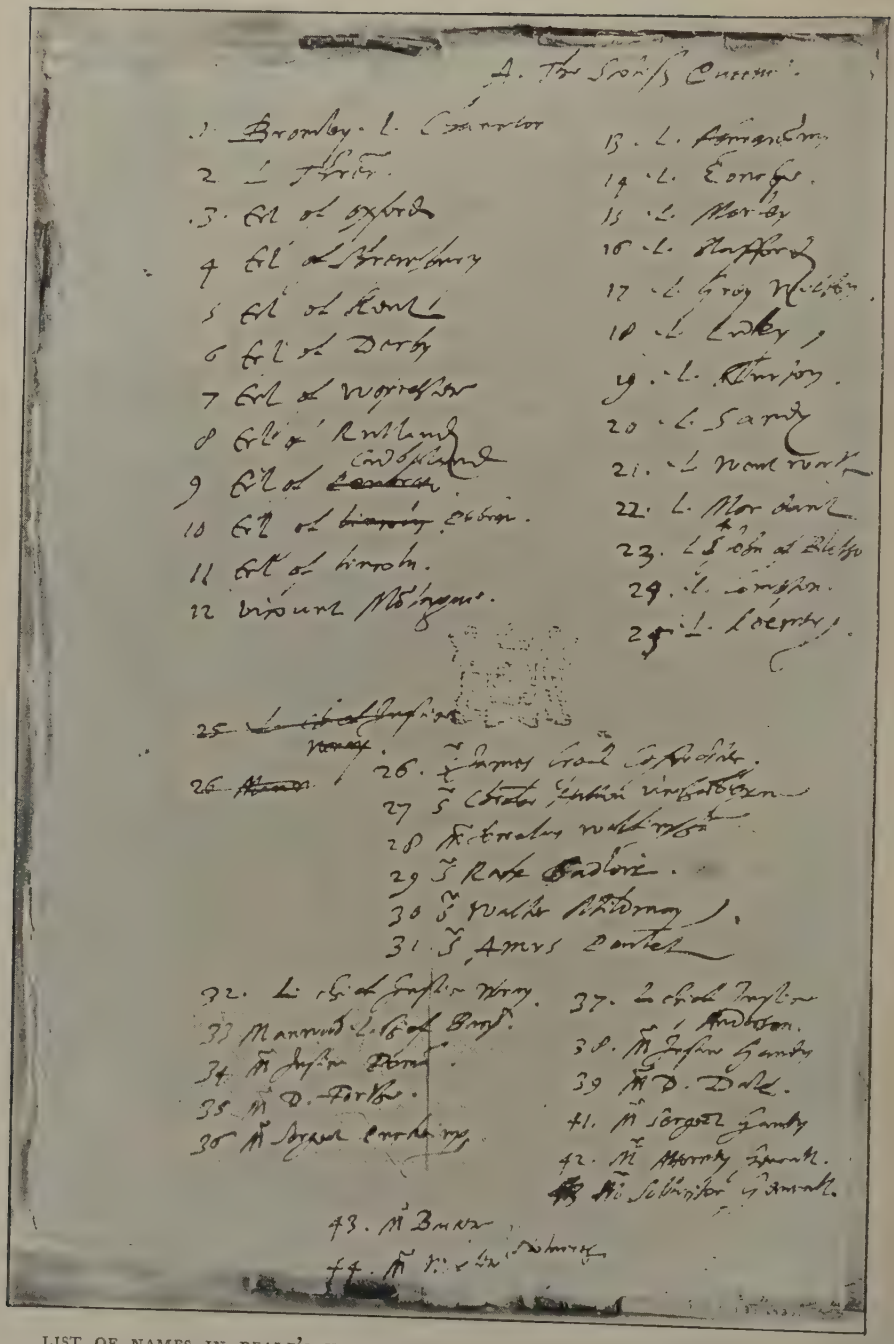
[1] For transcript, see Appendix, page 386.



CONTEMPORARY DRAWING OF THE TRIAL OF QUEEN MARY AT FOTHERINGAY.

(From the Calthorpe MS.)

[*To face p.* 254, *Vol. II.*



LIST OF NAMES IN BEALE'S HANDWRITING OF THOSE PRESENT AT THE TRIAL.

For 41. 42. —. *read* 40. 41. 42.

Bromley, Lord Burleigh, and the earls; on the left, the barons and knights of the Privy Council, Crofts, Hatton, Walsingham, Sadler, and Mildmay. In front of the earls sat the two premier judges and the Baron of Exchequer; while in front of the barons were four other judges and two doctors of civil law. At a large table in front of the dais sat the attorney-general, the solicitor-general, the queen's serjeant, the notary, and two clerks.[1]

The commissioners had great difficulty in getting Mary to appear. She positively refused to recognize their jurisdiction; and she kept to that, notwithstanding Burleigh went personally to her apartments and tried to persuade her. After some time she consented to appear, on condition that her objection to the competency of the tribunal was recorded. At nine o'clock the trial began. Mary entered the hall at that hour, feeble and careworn, and walking with difficulty, leaning on her physician Burgoyne, and on the other side supported by Andrew Melville, master of her household. She was escorted by a guard of halberdiers, and was dressed in black velvet, with a white gauze veil hanging from her cap. Four of her devoted ladies accompanied her, one of whom carried her train, and another a cushion for

[1] *Hon. Mrs. Maxwell Scott.*

her feet. Her composure and self-possession astonished the commissioners, who all uncovered before her, and she saluted them with a majestic air. The Lord Chancellor opened the proceedings by accusing Mary of planning the destruction of Elizabeth and the downfall of the kingdom; while Gawdy, the queen's sergeant, followed, accusing her of the Babington Conspiracy against Elizabeth's life, and of carrying on a correspondence with Babington. Mary rose to her feet, and in a dignified manner repudiated *in toto* their authority, and protested against it. She said, "I am a free sovereign princess, subject to no one but God, to whom alone I am accountable for my actions. I do not consider any of you here assembled to be either my peers or my judges to interrogate me on any of my doings. Of my own voluntary pleasure I appear in person to answer you by taking God to witness that I am innocent, clear, and pure in conscience of the calumnious charges with which I am accused." Her accusation was restricted to her letter to Babington of the 25th of June, his letter to her without date, and her letter to him of 17th July, specially to the last-named letter. These letters were alleged to be copies of ciphers, but by whom deciphered or copied no question was asked. Burleigh then came to the

rescue, and said that Morgan was in her service, and that he had been instigated to murder Elizabeth. Mary said she was entirely ignorant of Morgan's doings ; that pensions had been granted by Elizabeth to the Master of Gray, and her other enemies in Scotland, and also to her son to induce him to abandon her. This silenced Burleigh and the commissioners. She further said Babington might have written these letters, but let it be proved that she received them. "If Babington or any others affirm it, I protest that it is false. Why was he put to death without being brought face to face with me, so that I might have been convicted by his testimony, if I were guilty of what is laid to my charge ?" They said they had her letters in evidence of her complicity. She demanded to see them. She utterly denied having seen or received any such letters, much less of having replied to them. They produced Phillips's copies. "Nay," said she, "bring me my own handwriting. Anything to suit a purpose may be put in what is called copies. It is an easy matter to counterfeit ciphers, if others have got the alphabet for such correspondence. I do not deny that I have longed for liberty, and earnestly laboured to procure it—nature impelled me to do so ; but I call God to witness

that I have never conspired against the life of the Queen of England. I have written to my friends and solicited them to assist me to escape from her miserable prisons in which she has kept me now nearly nineteen years, till my health and hopes have been cruelly destroyed, but I never wrote the letters you pretend, nor would I have done so to purchase a crown. I claim the privilege of being convicted on the evidence of my own writing alone." And regarding Walsingham, she said, "What security have I that these are my ciphers? A young man lately in France has been detected forging my characters. Think you, Mr. Secretary, that I am ignorant of your devices, used so craftily against me? Your spies have surrounded me on every side, but you know not, perhaps, that some of them proved false and brought intelligence to me. And if such have been his doings, my lords, how can I be assured that he hath not counterfeited my ciphers to bring me to my death?" Against this eloquent charge Walsingham got up and perjured himself by protesting his innocence. She further said, "My enemies have tried every illegitimate means to deprive me of my rights, even to attempting my life; but God, who is the just Judge, has until now, in His infinite mercy and goodness, preserved me from all danger.

He has extended His hand over me to afflict me, but He has given me this grace of patience to bear the adversities it has pleased Him to send me. I do not desire vengeance. I leave it to Him who is the avenger of the innocent, and of those who suffer in His name, under whose power and will I take shelter. I do not fear the menaces of men. I demand another hearing, and that I be allowed an advocate to plead my cause, or that I be believed on the word of a queen."

In addressing the commissioners on the second day, Mary said, "Although I was promised that I would be simply questioned and examined on the one point, that namely concerning the person of the queen, my accusers have presumed to accuse me, each striving to surpass the other in stating and exaggerating facts and attempting to force me to reply to questions which I do not understand, and which have nothing to do with the commission. Is it not an unworthy act to submit to such conduct of such people the title of a princess, one little accustomed to such procedures and formalities; and is it not against all right, justice, and reason to deliver her over to them, weak and ill as she is and deprived of counsel, without papers or notes or secretary? It is very easy for many together, and, as it

appears to me, conspiring for the same object, to vanquish by force of word a solitary and defenceless woman. There is not one, I think, among you, let him be the cleverest man you will, who would be capable of resisting or defending himself were he in my place. I am alone, taken by surprise, and forced to reply to so many people who are unfriendly to me, and who have long been preparing for this occasion; and who appear to be more influenced by vehement prejudice and anger than by a desire of discovering the truth and fulfilling the duties laid down for them by the commission." Mary added, "I appeal to Almighty God, to all Christian friends, and to the Estates of this kingdom duly and lawfully assembled. Being innocent and falsely suspected, I am ready to maintain and defend my honour, provided that my defence be publicly recorded, and that I make it in the presence of some princes or foreign judges, or even before my natural judges, and this without prejudice to my mother the Church, to kings, sovereign princes, and to my son. I wish for nothing but to pass the remainder of my life in peace and tranquillity of mind. My advancing age and my bodily weakness both prevent me from wishing to resume the reins of government." Burleigh: "You have also

continued to assert your pretension to the English crown." "I have never," she replied, "given up my rights. I do not now, and never will. I beg of you before this assembly not to press me to say more upon that matter, for I do not wish to offend any one. I came to England relying on the friendship of your queen. Look here, my lords"—drawing a ring from her finger—"at the pledge of love and protection which I received from your mistress. Regard it well. Trusting to this pledge, I came amongst you. You all know how it has been kept." This was the ring which Elizabeth had sent to Mary when she was a prisoner at Lochleven. She demanded to be heard in a full Parliament, in the presence of the Queen of England and her council. This reasonable request was refused, and this courageous appeal caused the proceedings, which spread over two days, to terminate abruptly.[1]

Mary, on account of her ailments, remained in bed during the most of October. On the 25th of this month the trial was transferred to the Star Chamber, Westminster; but a number of the commissioners, dissatisfied with her treatment, declined to attend. Nau and Curle were afterwards examined, but Mary was not present.

[1] *Hosack.*

Walsingham tried to intimidate Nau, but Nau said, in indignation, that—

"the commissioners would have to answer to Almighty God as well as all Christian kings, if they should on such false charges condemn a sovereign queen."

Nau, who had been tortured to make confession about Mary, wrote Elizabeth, fully exonerating both himself and Mary from ever conspiring against Elizabeth's life. Nau got this letter conveyed direct to Elizabeth, notwithstanding the vigilance of his guard, and this is reported to have displeased Burleigh.

The Star Chamber found Mary guilty without having examined a single witness. Parliament confirmed this, and Elizabeth immediately sent a message requesting them to find some expedient whereby Mary's life might be spared. Parliament refused; but the request was a sham. How could it be anything else, when she paid the spies who forged and interpolated the letters which formed the indictment, and her two principal ministers superintended the treachery! Such a request therefore was infamous, and was meant as a blind to mislead those who knew no better. She prorogued Parliament, so as to consider what she would do—a step which was the merest

mockery, as the execution of the Queen of Scots she had fully determined to carry out. What, then, are we to think of the English jurisprudence of that age, and of the commissioners who conducted this trial at Fotheringay, who, overwhelmed by Mary's eloquent denunciation of the charge, were unable to produce the original document on which the indictment was founded! Several of the commissioners were convinced of Mary's innocence, and refused to take part in any farther proceedings. But Burleigh was determined, and so the trial went to London, with the result stated. He well knew all the circumstances—the paid spies, the forged letters, the Walsingham interpolations—and that he was persecuting to the death an innocent woman. Thus ended one of the most disgraceful of all the judicial iniquities which disgrace the pages of the history of England. To arraign the accused at Fotheringay in the absence of witnesses, and to produce witnesses at Westminster in the absence of the accused, was a mockery of justice. And this was not the only iniquity. Of the documents produced against Mary, not one was original. They were not even *bonâ fide* copies. They were only alleged to be copies of ciphers, on the credit of men who were paid spies, and who

were not confronted with the accused at the trial. To attach the smallest credit to any such documents would be to disregard the plainest rules of evidence recognized by all civilized communities for the discovery of truth.[1]

On the 19th of November the death-sentence was communicated to Mary by Lord Buckhurst and Beale, who were sent to Fotheringay. James at this crisis is said to have interceded for his mother's life. He wrote Elizabeth, who got into a rage, and the matter dropped, to the eternal disgrace of James, who could have saved his mother's life if he had shown some strength of character, and threatened Elizabeth with an armed force. The English would not have fought seriously against him, as the great bulk of the nobility were sympathisers with Mary. James wrote Archibald Douglas regretting—

"that the queen had allowed it to go so far to her dishonour; his intention to send an embassy to England: one man to be in it deserving of the greatest credit from the king: a jewel of honesty is locked up in his heart, which she only by her good behaviour can open."

These are the sentiments of a schoolboy, not the words of a man who wanted to save his mother from execution. It was a great calamity

[1] *Hosack.*

to the Queen of Scots that she had such a son, for at this great crisis of her life he rendered her no assistance whatever. On the 21st of November the King of France, Henry III., sent an ambassador to remonstrate with Elizabeth on the sentence passed against Mary. He was admitted to an audience, and was most emphatic in his remonstrances against Mary's death, and, in the name of justice and honesty, demanded the sentence to be cancelled. But Elizabeth was inflexible, and would not listen to his remonstrances. On the 5th of December the ambassador again had an interview with her, and demanded a reprieve, but all in vain. He then requested his passports. There is a letter in the State Paper Office of the 14th of December, from King Henry III. to Courcelles, expressing his satisfaction that the King of Scots is so earnest in behalf of his mother, a disposition that will procure him the respect of all the princes in Christendom, and begging that he will constantly remind him that they who kill his mother would not hesitate to kill himself. It is evident from this, that the French king had a totally false view of the situation, and he was not free from alarm any more than James. The Queen of Scots was his sister-in-law, and in place of writing sentimental letters, he ought to

have sent soldiers to demand her release. On the 17th of December, secretary John Maitland, writing to Walsingham, states that the king has chosen the Master of Gray and Sir Robert Melville to intercede for the life of his mother. The Master of Gray's intercession was worthless, as he was a notorious enemy of the Queen of Scots, but Melville was a devoted friend.

On the 27th of December the French ambassador had another audience of Elizabeth, when he renewed his protests, and pointed out to her that the King of France was insulted by the manner in which she had slighted his remonstrances and entreaties.

On the 6th of January, 1587, James's commissioners had an audience of Elizabeth to remonstrate with her about Mary, and demanded that her life should be spared. They had another audience on the 10th, when the same request was preferred, but with no result. On the 17th they took leave of her, and protested against anything she might do against Mary's life. Notwithstanding these remonstrances, Elizabeth, on the 1st of February, signed the warrant for Mary's execution, while with scandalous duplicity she affected to disapprove and deeply to lament the deed.

Mary sent a final and an eloquent letter to Elizabeth, in which she said :—

"As to practising any ill against you, I declare, in the presence of God, I am not guilty of the crime, but God will let you see the truth of all plainly after my death. I remind you that you will one day have to give account of your charge in like manner as those who have preceded you in it, and that my blood and the misery of my country will be remembered."

There was great indignation in Scotland on receipt of the news that sentence of death had been passed on the queen. Many of the lords, such as Huntly, Herries, and Lord Claude Hamilton, declared for war, rather than allow the sentence to be executed; and on James asking Bothwell's[1] advice, that nobleman replied: "I think if your majesty allows the matter to proceed you should be hanged yourself the day after." Angus declared to him that he and the rest of the nobility would not permit Elizabeth to put her hands in his mother's blood, and that Mary could not be blamed if she demanded the Queen of England's throat to be cut, for detaining her so long unjustly a prisoner. These were bold words, but, unfortunately, they were not followed up by any action.

[1] The successor of the notorious Bothwell.

The Last Letter of Mary to Elizabeth.

December 19, 1586.

And since I know that your heart, more than any other, ought to be touched by the honour or dishonour to our blood, and to a queen, and daughter of a king, then, madam, in the honour of Jesus, under whose banner all powers obey, I request you, after my enemies shall have gratified their desire of my innocent blood, to allow my poor desolate servants, altogether, to carry my body to be buried in holy ground, and with any of my predecessors in France, specially the late queen my mother. And this in consideration that in Scotland the bodies of the kings my predecessors have been outraged and the Churches pulled down and profaned, and that, having suffered in this country, I should have no place amongst your predecessors, who are also mine. And moreover, in our religion, we greatly value burial in holy ground, and, since I am told that you do not wish my conscience to be forced against my religion, and that you have even allowed me a priest, I hope that you will not refuse me this last request, permitting at least free sepulchre to the body whose soul will have left it. These never had peace in life. Before God, I blame you for nothing, but God grant that you may see the truth after my death. And because I know the secret tyranny of some, I beg of you, to avoid the scandal which will otherwise arise, to permit my servants to remain spectators and witnesses of my end in the faith of my Saviour and the obedience of His church; and that all together carrying my body, secretly if it shall please you, they may go away without any one moving my belongings, which in dying I leave to them, being

very little for their good services. A jewel I have received from you I will send back to you with my last words, or sooner if you please. I beg and require you in the name of Jesus Christ, in respect of our relationship, and in name of King Henry VII. your grandfather and mine, and in the honour of the dignity that we have held, and of the sex common to us both, that my requests may be granted.

For the rest, I think that you should know that in your name they have pulled down my daïs; and after, I was told that it was not by your command, but by the advice of some of the council.

Please God, such cruelty may only serve to exercise malice, and to afflict me, after being resolved to put me to death. I believe that also many other things——[1]

MARIE R.

With studied cruelty the requests made in this touching letter were not complied with. For Elizabeth's conduct there is not a word of defence, and in the whole range of history we shall probably search in vain for a woman guilty of such despotic and unfeeling conduct.

QUEEN MARY'S LAST LETTER.

A pathetic interest attaches to this rare and priceless relic. It was written by Mary a few hours before her execution, and addressed to her brother-in-law, Henry III., king of France. It cannot be read without emotion when we think

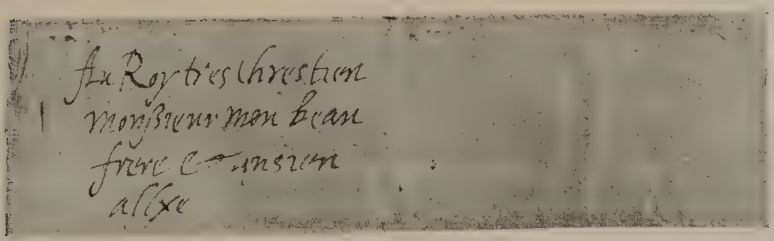
[1] Imperfect.

of her extraordinary life and the unprecedented circumstances that surrounded her. It is no small satisfaction to be able to reproduce her very last letter, which will be read with interest wherever the English language is spoken. It is a fitting termination to her unhappy life; and, while it is marked by that true Christian spirit, which governed all her actions, beautifully and affectionately expressed, it is an unanswerable rebuke to Elizabeth and Burleigh on the one hand, and Moray and his rebel faction on the other, that, notwithstanding the treachery and persecution and villainy of which she was the victim, she has proclaimed with her last breath her entire innocence, while her accusers, who have been ingenious in the construction of their arguments, have failed in convincing posterity of the truth of a single accusation. On account of the importance of the letter we give a photograph of the original, accompanied by a transcription and an English translation, specially prepared for this work.[1] The photograph shows that in the presence of death the queen's handwriting was firm and retained its individuality.

MONSIEUR, MON BEAU-FRERE,—Estant, par la permission de Dieu, pour mes peschez, comme le croy, venue

[1] By the kind permission of Mrs. Alfred Morrison (London), who has presented us with the photograph, specially taken for us, we are able to present our readers with these.

Queen Mary's Last Letter.



[*To face p.* 270, *Vol. II.*

laissant leurs gages laboure aysant mon plaisir
pour vous vostre qui a estat nommee tres chrestienne
et mesmes catholique desirant de tout mes biens
quant a mon filz ie le vous recommande autant
quil le meritera car ie nen puis respondre
car pris la hardiesse de vous envoyer deulx
pierres rares pour la sante vous la desirant
parfaicte avec heureuse longue vie vous les
recepvrez comme de vostre tres affectionnee
bonne sœur mourante en vous rendant tes mercys
de son bon cueur enuers vous ie vous recommande
encore mes serviteurs vous ordonnerez sil vous
plaict ainc pour mon ame ie soye pourveue de
partye de ce que me debuez et dieu thamoneur
de Jhesus Christ lequel ie prye demayn a
mon mort pour vous me laisser de grace fonder
un obit et faire les xxx. messes requises
ce mercredy a deulx heures apres minuict

Vostre tres affectionnee et bien
bonne sœur MARIE

pour me jecter entre les bras de ceste Royne, ma cousine, où j'ay eu beaucoup d'ennuis et passé près de vingt ans, je suis enfin par elle et ses Estats condamnée à la mort, et ayant demandé mes papiers, par eulx oster, à ceste fin de fayre mon testament, je n'ay peu rien retirer qui me servist, ny obtenir congé d'en fayre un libre, ny qu'après ma mort mon corps fust transporté, sellon mon désir, en votre royaulme, où j'ay eu l'honneur d'estre royne, votre sœur et ancienne allyée.

Ce jourd'huy, après disner, m'a esté desnonssé ma sentence pour estre exécutée demain, comme une criminelle, à huiet heures du matin. Je n'ay eu loiser de vous fayre ung ample discours de tout ce qui s'est passé, mays s'il vous plaist de crere mon médesin et ces aultres miens désolez serviteurs, vous oyrés la verité, et comme, grâces à Dieu, je mesprise la mort, et fidellement proteste de la recepvoir innocente de tout crime quant je serois leur subjecte. La religion catolique et le mayntien du droit que Dieu m'a donnée à ceste couronne sont les deux poincts de ma condamnation, et toutesfoys ilz ne me veullent permettre de dire que c'est pour la religion catolique que je meurs, mays pour la crainte du champage de la leur; et pour preuve ilz m'ont osté mon aulmonier, le quel, bien qu'il soit en la mayson, je n ay peu obtenir qu'il me vinst confesser ny communier à ma mort, mays m'ont faict grande instance de recepvoir la consolation et doctrine de leur ministre, ammené pour ce faict. Ce porteur et sa compaignie, la pluspart de vos subjectez, vous tesmoigneront mes desportemantez en ce mien acte dernier. Il reste que je vous suplie comme Roy très chrestien, mon beau-frere et ansien allyé, qui

m'avez toujours protesté de m'aymer, qu'à ce coup vous faysiez preuve en toutz ces poincts de vostre vertu, tant par charité, me souslageant de ce que, pour descharger ma conssiance, je ne puis sans vous, qui est ne récompenser mes serviteurs désolex, leur laissant leurs gaiges, l'aultre faysant prier Dieu pour une royne que a estay nommée Très Chrestien, et meurt catolique desnuée de toutz ses biens.

Quant à mon fylz je le vous recommande autant qu'il le méritera; car je n'en puis respondre. J'ay pris la hardiesse de vous envoier deux pierres rares, pour la santi vous la désirant parfaicte avec heureuse et longue vie. Vous les recepvrez comme de votre très affectionnée belle-sœur, mourante en vous rendant tesmoynage de son bon cueur envers vous. Je vous recommande encore mes serviteurs. Vous ordonneres, si il vous plaict, que pour mon âme je soye payée de partye de ce que me debvez, et qu'eu l'honneur de Jhésus Christ, lequel je priray demayn à ma mort, pour vous me laysser de quoy fonder un obit et fayre les aulmosnes requises.

Ce mercredy, à deux heures après minuict.

Votre très affectionnée et bien bonne sœur,

MARIE R.

Au Roy très chrestien Monsieur mon beau-frère et ansien allyé.

(*Translation.*)

To the Most Christian King, Monsieur, my Brother-in-law and Former Ally.

Fotheringay, Feb. 8, 1587.

MONSIEUR, MY BROTHER-IN-LAW,—Having been permitted by God, as I believe for my sins, to throw myself

into the arms of this queen my cousin, where I have had many troubles, and where I have spent nearly twenty years, I am at last by her and her Government condemned to death, and having requested my papers (taken away by them), to the end that I might make my testament, I have not been able to select anything that might be of use to me, nor to obtain liberty to make a register of them, nor that after my death my body might be conveyed according to my desire to your kingdom where I have had the honour to be queen, your sister, and former ally.

This day, after dinner, I received notice of my sentence that I should be executed to-morrow like a criminal at eight o'clock in the morning.

I have not had leisure to give you a full recital of all that has happened, but if it please you to believe my physician, and the rest of these my heart-broken attendants, you will hear the truth, and how, thanks to God, I despise death, and truthfully protest that I receive it innocent of any crime, so long as I have been in their power. The Catholic religion and the maintenance of the right which God has given me to this crown are the two points of my condemnation—and yet they will not allow me to say that it is for the Catholic religion that I die, but for the fear of changing theirs; and as a proof of this, they have taken away my chaplain (to my sorrow), whom, although he is in the house, I have not been able to receive, either that he might come to confess me or to administer the Sacrament at my death, but they have greatly insisted on my receiving the consolation and instruction of their minister, brought hither for this purpose. The bearer of this and his companions, the greater part of whom are

your subjects, will testify to you how I bear myself in this my last act. It remains that I pray you, as the most Christian king, my brother-in-law and former ally, and as one who has always professed your love for me, that at this time you make proof of your virtue in all the points following: first, of your charity—relieving me in a matter which to satisfy my conscience I cannot accomplish without your aid—to reward my broken-hearted attendants, continuing to them their wages; second, causing prayers to be made to God for a queen who has borne the title of most Christian, and dies a Catholic stript of all her goods.

As to my son, I recommend him to you so far as he shall deserve, for I cannot answer for him.

I have taken the liberty of sending you two rare stones for your health, wishing for you that it may be perfect, with a happy and long life. You will receive them as from your very affectionate sister-in-law, who thus testifies to you in the presence of death her kindly feelings towards you.

I recommend to you once more my attendants. You will give orders, if it please you, that for my soul I may receive payment of part of that which you owe to me, and that to the glory of Jesus Christ, to Whom I shall pray for you to-morrow at my death, you allow thereof sufficient to found an obit for me, and to make the necessary alms.

Wednesday, two hours after midnight.

Your very affectionate and loving sister,

MARIE R.

On the 7th of February the Earls of

Shrewsbury and Kent arrived at Fotheringay, to superintend the execution, and announced to Mary that it would take place next morning. On the night before, Mary counted and divided all the money in her possession, putting each sum into a separate purse with a slip of paper, in which she wrote with her own hand the name of the person for whom it was intended. That being done, she sat down to supper; after which she caused a cup to be filled with wine, and drank to her attendants, bidding them to pledge her for the last time. They did so on their knees, mingling their tears with the wine. Then she gave them a good advice, to love one another after her death, and she thereupon divided among them her jewels, relics, and wardrobe. Her damsels then washed her feet, and afterwards engaged in devotional exercises, Queen Mary requesting the parable of the thief on the cross to be read. "He was," she said, "a great sinner, but not so great a sinner as I am. May my blessed Saviour have mercy on me in the hour of death as He had on him!" Her ladies afterwards reverently put her to bed for the last time. She arose about six o'clock, and as the execution was at eight, she had only two hours to live. She told her ladies to dress her as for a festival.

They dressed her in a black velvet dress, spangled over with gold, and a crimson velvet petticoat, with a white veil, which descended from her head to the ground. She went alone into the oratory and partook of the sacrament according to the Catholic ritual, after which she spoke to the ladies and gentlemen of her household, who were all round her and all of them weeping bitterly, of the transitory nature of human felicity, and the vanity of earthly greatness, of which she was an example. At the summit of all worldly honours she had to submit herself to the executioner, the crimes alleged against her being only a flimsy pretext for her destruction. Then she ordered Burgoyne, her physician, to read her will; after which she took farewell of her ladies and kissed each of them, and extended her hand to be kissed by the gentlemen, the tears streaming down every one's face. Then they all joined in prayer. Mary was very feeble and worn to a shadow with sickness and care, and, being unable to rise from her knees after prayer, Burgoyne assisted her. The Earl of Kent knocked at the door, saying, "Madam, the Lords have sent me for you." She then walked into the hall of execution, leaning on the arms of her two physicians. These two devoted men told her that they and all her

household were prepared to die with her, but they would not lead her to the scaffold. Two of her gaolers' servants then came forward and did that duty. At first none of her household were permitted to enter the hall, but, on her remonstrance, two ladies and four gentlemen were allowed. These flung themselves at her feet, kissing her hand, and clinging to her garments, and when they parted from her both men and women wept aloud, and their cries were heard all over the hall. She ascended the steps of the scaffold with difficulty, supported on each side by two of Paulet's officers. Here she met her faithful attendant and friend, Sir Andrew Melville, master of her household, and he was crying bitterly. She said to him, under visible emotion :

"Weep not, good Melville, you shall presently have greater cause for rejoicing. You shall this day see Mary Stuart delivered from all her cares, and such an end put to her tedious sufferings as she has long expected. Those who have thirsted for my blood as the hart doth for the water brooks may God forgive."

The sheriff and his men then appeared on the scene, and it is alleged about a hundred persons were permitted to be present. She then proceeded to undress, and, before laying her head on the block, she again kissed her devoted attendants for the last

time, after which Jane Kennedy,[1] one of them, in a paroxysm of sobbing and crying, drew forth the gold-bordered handkerchief Mary had given her to bind her eyes, and reverently performed that duty. Mary then laid her neck on the block, and, as she was repeating the words, "Into Thy hands I commend my spirit; Thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of truth," her gentle spirit passed away from this scene of trouble into the arms of her Redeemer.

The real character of the author of this murder (for it can be called by no other name) now becomes apparent. Having accomplished her object, Elizabeth's next move was to make friends at any price with Mary's feeble-minded son, and she does not appear to have had much difficulty in doing so. Although she signed Mary's death warrant on the 1st of February, she, after Mary's death, sent for Hatton, one of her ministers, was in great indignation, wept bitterly (if that were possible), and uttered threats of vengeance against the men who had usurped her authority by putting the Queen of Scots to death without her knowledge or consent! Hatton, Davison, and their colleagues were, as might be supposed, in great consternation. She ordered Davison to be

[1] Jane Kennedy was afterwards married to Sir Andrew Melville, of Garvock, Perthshire, but unfortunately was drowned in 1589, crossing the Forth at Burntisland in an open boat.

arrested and fined in £10,000, a sum of money which utterly ruined him. A few weeks after this, Mary's obsequies were solemnized at the Cathedral of Notre Dame by the king, nobles, and people of France with universal expressions of grief. A funeral oration was pronounced by the Archbishop of Bourges. Twenty-eight years before, her marriage was solemnized here, with unexampled magnificence, and the present occasion was another proof that "all is vanity." The archbishop said—

"It was not easy to find so many endowments centred in one human being, for, besides that marvellous beauty which attracted the eyes of all the world, she had a disposition so excellent, an understanding so clear, and judgment so sound; she possessed great courage, but it was tempered by feminine gentleness and sweetness. Many of us saw in the place where we now are assembled to deplore her, the queen on the day of her bridal, so covered with jewels that the sun himself shone not more brightly, so beautiful, so charming withal as never woman was. These walls were then hung with cloth of gold and precious tapestry, every space was filled with thrones and seats, crowded with princes and princesses, who came from all parts to share in the rejoicings. The palace was overflowing with magnificence, fetes, and masks, and the streets with tournays. A little time, and it has all vanished like a cloud. The marble, the bronze, and the iron are decomposed by the air or corroded by rust, but the remembrance of her bright example shall live eternally."

The remains of Queen Mary, though embalmed, were not buried for six months, when Elizabeth gave orders for interment in Peterborough Cathedral, on the 1st of August. It was an event of great pomp and pageantry, but an empty show. Having murdered the Scottish queen, she was, as might be expected, lavish in her arrangements, and no expense was spared to have an imposing funeral ceremonial. Mary's servants and household promptly refused to accept any contribution of any kind from her. A banquet followed, and they also declined to have anything to do with it. For this they were detained as prisoners in Fotheringay for three months by Elizabeth's tyrannical order, but were released on the remonstrance of James.

There is an important paper in the Yelverton MSS. which, by the kind permission of Lord Calthorpe, we are able to reproduce. This paper is the proclamation of Elizabeth, under the great seal of England, for the declaring of the sentence of death given against Queen Mary, and the authority for execution. It is in the following terms :—

Proclamation by the Queen of England.

Elizabeth, by the grace of God Queen of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc. Whereas

we were given to understand very credibly (though to our great grief) that divers things were, and of late time had been compassed, imagined and resolutely intended, tending directly to the hurt and destruction of our royal person, and to the subversion of the estate of our realm, by foreign invasions and rebellions at home, as well by the Queen of Scots, remaining in our realm under our protection, as by many divers other wicked persons with her, who had freely confessed the same, and had thereupon received open trial, judgment, and execution according to the laws for their deserts; And though, in very truth, we were greatly and deeply grieved in our mind to think or imagine that any such unnatural and monstrous acts should be either devisedly or willingly assented unto against us by her, being a princess born, and of our sex and blood, and one also whose life and honour we had many times before saved and preserved: Yet were we so directly drawn to think all the same to be true, by the sight and understanding of such proofs, as were manifestly produced before us, upon matters that had as well proceeded from herself as from the conspirators themselves, who voluntarily and freely, without any exertion, had confessed their conspiracy both jointly with her, and directed by her, against our person and realm, and therefore also we saw great reason to think the same over dangerous to be suffered to pass onward to take their full effect. Wherefore, we were by sundry lords of our nobility and others our loving subjects earnestly moved and counselled to take immediate order, for the investigation and examination of all these dangerous enterprises and conspiracies by sundry ways, directly

avowed to be by the said Queen of Scots against us and our realm certainly intended, and also to use all present means with expedition, to withstand, or rather to prevent the same. And for that we were very unwilling to proceed against her, considering her birth and estate, by such usual sort as by the common laws of the realm we might lawfully have done, which was by indictment and arraignment by ordinary juries, Therefore, in respect both of our own honour and of her person, we yielded, by good advice given to us, to proceed in the most honourable way that could be devised to the examination hereof, according to a late Act of Parliament, made the twenty-third day of November, in the twenty-seventh year of our reign, whereupon by our commission under our great seal of England, bearing date at our castle of Windsor in our county of Berks, the sixth day of October now last past, we did for that purpose, according to the said statute, assign, name, and appoint all the lords and others of our Privy Council, and so many other earls and barons, lords of Parliament, of the greatest degree, and most ancient of the nobility of this realm, as, with the same lords and others of our Privy Council, made up the number of forty and two, adding thereto a further number, according to the tenor of the foresaid Act of Parliament, of certain of the chief and other principal judges of the courts of record at Westminster, amounting in the whole to the number of forty and seven, to examine all things compassed and imagined, tending to the hurt of our royal person, as well by the said Queen of Scots, by the name of Marie, the daughter and heir of James the Fifth, late King of Scots, commonly called the Queen of Scots and

Dowager of France, and thereupon, according to the tenor of the said Act of Parliament, to give sentence or judgment as upon good proof the matter unto them should appear, as by the same commission more fully appeareth.

And where afterwards the greater part of the said councillors, lords and judges in our said commission named, that is to say, the number of thirty-six, did in the presence and hearing of the said Queen of Scots, where she remained at our castle of Fotheringay, at divers days and times in public place, very exactly, uprightly and with great deliberation, examine all the matters and offences, whereof she was charged and accused, tending to the dangers before rehearsed and mentioned in our said commission, and all the circumstances thereof, and heard also at large in all favourable manner what the same queen did, or could say for her excuse and defence in that matter: whereupon afterwards, on the twenty-fifth day of October now last, all the said council, lords and judges that had heard and examined the same cause in the said queen's presence, as afore is mentioned, with one assent and consent, after good deliberation, did give their sentence and judgment in this sort following: That after the first day of June, in the seven and twentieth year of our reign, and before the date of our said commission, divers things were compassed and imagined within this realm of England by Anthony Babington and others, with the help of the said Mary, pretending title to the crown of this realm of England, tending to the hurt, death and destruction of our royal person, and likewise that, after the same 1st day of June and before the date of our said commission, the said Mary, pretending title to the same crown, had

compassed and imagined within the same realm divers things tending to the hurt, death, and destruction of our royal person, contrary to the form of the said statute; which sentence and judgment the same lords and commissioners have with our full consent caused to be put in writing, and duly engrossed, with the whole process of their proceedings thereto belonging, and have subscribed the same with their hands, as by record thereof, showed to us, more fully and largely doth appear. And whereas also, since the same sentence and judgment so given and recorded, the lords and commons in this present Parliament assembled have, at sundry times in open parliament, heard and considered the principal evidences, proofs and circumstances whereupon the same sentence and judgment was grounded, and have by their public assent in parliament affirmed the same to be a just, lawful and true sentence, and so have allowed and approved the same in writing presented unto us; and have also notified to us how deeply they did foresee the great and many imminent dangers, which otherwise might and would grow to our person, and to the whole realm, if this sentence were not fully executed, Consequently, therefore, they did by their most humble and earnest petitions, of one accord, having access unto us (upon their sundry requests) most instantly upon their knees pray, beseech, and with many reasons of great force and importance move and press us that the said sentence and judgment so justly and duly given and by them approved, as is aforesaid, might (according to the express tenor of the said Act of Parliament) by our proclamation under our great seal be declared and published, and the same also finally executed. But

after such most earnest request, so made to us from all the said lords and commons in parliament, they perceiving by our speeches and answers how deeply we were grieved to hear of these horrible and unnatural attempts and actions of that queen, whose many former offences, manifestly and dangerously committed against us, our crown and realm, we had overlooked with our great clemency, contrary to the many advices and requests of our subjects, as well in parliament as otherwise; and they therefore also, understanding from us how desirous we were to have some other means devised by them in their several places of parliament, to withstand these mischiefs intended both against ourselves and the public and quiet state of our realm, and surety of our good subjects, then by execution of the foresaid sentence, as was required, They did, after their sundry consultations apart, and conferences jointly with one accord, in the names of all the lords of Parliament, even by the particular votes of them all assembled, and also of the commons with one universal consent, representing the state of all our realm, at their several times of access unto us, allege, declare and protest, that upon their long, many and advised consultations and conferences by our commandment, and for our satisfaction in that behalf had, they could not by any means find or devise, how the surety of our royal person, and the preservation of themselves and their posterity, with the good state of the realm, might be provided for and continued, without the publication and due execution of the said sentence. Whereupon, being not only moved to our grief, but also overcome with the earnest requests, declarations and important reasons of all our said subjects,

the nobles and commons of our realm, whose judgment knowledge, and natural care of us and the whole realm, we know doth far surmount all others being not so interested therein, and so justly to be esteemed: and perceiving also the said sentence to have been honourably, lawfully, and justly given, agreeably to justice and to the laws of our realm, we did yield, and do, according to the said statute by this our proclamation under our great seal of England, declare, notify, and publish to all our loving subjects, and other persons whatsoever, that the said sentence and judgment is given in manner aforesaid, to the intent that they and all of them by this our proclamation may have full understanding and knowledge thereof. We do also will you that you do return this our proclamation to our Court of Chancery as speedily as you may conveniently, with the place and time of the proclaiming thereof thereupon indorsed, whereof fail you not.

In witness whereof we have caused this our proclamation to be made patent and sealed with the great seal of England. At our Manor of Richmond the third day of December, the twenty-ninth year of our reign, and in the year of our Lord God 1586.

God save the Queen.

It will be observed from the following letter that Queen Mary's household was not at Fotheringay previous to the execution. A few confidential and devoted servants only were permitted to accompany her. The household was not removed for a fortnight thereafter.

Sir Amias Paulet to Walsingham.

February 25, 1587.

Sir,—Following the direction of the lords of her majesty's council, signified by your letters of the 15th of this present, I have brought hither the Scottish household from Chartley, and have discharged all the soldiers, one porter and four soldiers only excepted, which have the charge of the gate.

I send unto you herewith the inventory of her majesty's plate, hangings, and other household stuffs, lately used in this castle, whereof the plate, the greater part of the hangings, and all the best stuff was removed from hence yesterday under the conduct of some of my servants, praying you to signify forthwith to my servant, Robert Hackshaw, remaining in London, in what place there the said plate and other stuff shall be discharged. As likewise Mr. Darell prayeth for the better clearing of his account, and doth think it so meet for her majesty's better service, that the said plate and other stuff may not be removed from the place where it shall be unladen, until his coming to London.

The jewels, plate, and other goods belonging to the late Queen of Scots were already divided into many parts before the receipt of your letters, as may appear by the inventory thereof enclosed herein, the whole company (saving Kennedy, and Curle's sister, two of her gentlewomen) affirming that they have nothing to show for these things from their mistress in writing, and that all the smaller things were delivered by her own hands. I have, according to your direction, committed the custody

of the said jewels, plate, and other stuff to Mr. Melville, the physician, and Kennedy, one of the gentlewomen. The care of the embalming of the body was committed to the high sheriff of this county, who (no doubt) was very willing to have it well done, and had the advice of a physician of Stamford, with the help of two surgeons. And yet, according to your direction for the body to be covered with lead, the physician hath thought good to add somewhat to his former doings, and doth now take upon him that it may continue for some reasonable time.

A. Paulet.

In the Camden Collection there is a voluminous paper of sixty-seven pages entitled, "A Justification of Queen Elizabeth in Relation to the Affairs of Mary Queen of Scots."

It gives a long account of Mary's conspiracies, etc., against Elizabeth's person, realm, and religion, to prove that during her life Elizabeth could feel no security or ease of mind; quotes many examples from history to afford parallels also to excuse the crime of taking the life of an anointed sovereign; dwells persistently on her—Elizabeth's—kindness and longsuffering towards the queen, and repudiates any injustice, malice, rigour, or any unprincely behaviour in her proceedings against her unfortunate cousin; maintains that the trial was conducted in a most fair and

Mary Stuart.

From the portrait in the Hardwicke Collection of the Duke of Devonshire.

MANT & LECLERCQ, LONDON

open manner, and the sentence a just one; concludes—

"So is not her majesty's conscience, nor yet her honour, anyways to be impeached for this fact, but are in all respects entirely saved and by the truth itself defended. And all that hath been recited of the said unfortunate lady's behaviour and of her majesty's proceedings in this affair is true. What would you more? Either you must believe it, or give me leave to hold my peace; for truth being the only just measure of all things, with our opinion in the defence of truth itself there is a certain measure to be used."

With respect to the authorship of this paper, the preface says—

"Of the authorship nothing is known. It may be inferred from the style of the composition, and the occasional use of words which were antiquated even at that period, that he was an old man. Many passages show that he was no lawyer. It is not quite so clear that he was not a divine. Of the period at which this 'justification' was written we may speak pretty confidently. It fits in, as it were, to the year 1587, or the beginning of the following year, and that date agrees both with its contents and purpose. It is also confirmed by two passages which contain allusions to the future King James. In the first of these passages that young king, born in 1565, is spoken of as just come to man's estate. In the second passage there is an obvious allusion to the disturbance in the friendly relations between the young king

and Queen Elizabeth, occasioned by the execution of his mother."

The author was undoubtedly a creature of Burleigh's, and the paper written as a *solatium* to calm the troubled conscience of Elizabeth, who must have felt that she had committed a crime of no common magnitude, and it was necessary that some feasible justification of her conduct should be put before the public. It was in vain. From all quarters of the globe her conduct was condemned.

In the Harleian MSS. there is a copy of the "Hue and Cry," sent out on the pretence that the Queen of Scots had fled from Fotheringay Castle. It is in the following terms :—

"These are to charge you in the queen's name, that presently upon the sight hereof, you make 'hue and cry' forward with all speed, and that you appoint watch, and keep watch in the queen's highway and at suspect places, and that you suffer none to pass (of what degree soever he or they may be) without examination, and that you make 'hue and crys,' and send them forth with all speed to every highway ; for Fotheringay Castle is broke, and traitors are fled out. Therefore we charge you, upon pain of death, to set watchmen in all suspected places within your fields and highways."

The object of this cunning device was plainly

to distract attention from the murder, in case its effect should create a rebellion; and to raise excitement among the country people by announcing the flight of the queen. Certainly a very ingenious canard, evidently instigated by Elizabeth and her Privy Council, and another illustration of their unblushing treachery.

Catholic Report of Queen Mary's Execution.

Report of the death of that rare and princely martyr Mary Stuart, late Queen of Scotland, executed for her conscience at Fotheringay Castle, the 8th of February, 1587:—[1]

First in the hall of the said castle was a stage, raised of seven feet square every way, and about five feet in height. At the two upper corners were two stools set, one for the Earl of Shrewsbury, another for the Earl of Kent; directly between the said stools was placed a block one foot high, covered with black, and before that stood a little cushion stool for the queen to sit on while her apparel was taken off. Round about the stage stood the high sheriff, with others appointed for the purpose. About nine a.m., came that sweet saint and martyr, led like a lamb to the butchery, attired in a gown of black satin embroidered with a French kind of embroidery of black velvet; her hair seemly trussed up with a veil of white lawn, which covered her head and all her other apparel down to the foot. Being come into the hall, she

[1] By "a Catholic," State Paper Office Reports.

stayed, and with a smiling countenance asked Shrewsbury why none of her own servants were suffered to be present. He answered that the queen his mistress had so commanded. "Alas," quoth she, "far meaner persons than myself have not been denied so small a favour, and I hope the queen's majesty will not deal so hardly with me." "Madam," quoth Shrewsbury, "it is so appointed to avoid two inconveniences, the one that it is likely your people will shriek and make some fearful noise in the time of your execution, and so both trouble you and us, or else press with some disorder to get of your blood and keep it for a relic and minister offence that way." "My lord," answered she, "I pray you for my better quietness of mind let me have some of my servants about me, and I will give you my word that they shall not offend in any sort." Upon which promise two of her women and five of her men were sent for, who, coming into the hall, and seeing the place of execution prepared and their sovereign mistress expecting death, they began to cry out in most woeful and pitiful sort; wherewith she held up her hand, willing them for her sake to forbear and be silent, "for," quoth she, "I have passed my word to these lords that you shall be quiet and not offend them:" and presently there appeared in them a wonderful show of subjection, and loyal obedience, as to their natural prince, whom even at the instant of death they honoured with all reverence and duty. For though their breasts were seen to rise and swell as if their wounded hearts would have burst in sunder, yet did they to their double grief forbear their outward plaints to accomplish her pleasure.

As soon as she was upon the stage, there came to her a heretic, called Doctor Fletcher, dean of Peterborough, and told her how the queen his sovereign, moved with an unspeakable care of her soul, had sent him to instruct and comfort her in the true words of God. At which she somewhat turned her face towards him, saying, "Mr. Doctor, I will have nothing to do with you, nor your doctrine;" and forthwith kneeled down before the block, and began her meditations in most godly manner. Then the doctor entered also into a form of new-fashioned prayers; but the better to prevent the hearing of him, she raised her voice, and prayed so loud, as he could not be understood. The Earl of Shrewsbury then spoke to her, and told her that he would pray with her, and for her. "My lord," quoth she, "if you will pray for me I thank you; but, in so doing, pray secretly by yourself, for we will not pray together." Her meditations ended, she arose up and kissed her two gentlewomen, and bowed her body towards her men, and charged them to remember her to her sweet son, to whom she sent her blessing, with promise to pray for him in heaven; and lastly to salute her friends, and so took her last farewell of her poor servants.

The executioners then began, after their rough and rude manner, to disrobe her, and while they were so doing, she looked upon the noblemen, and smilingly said, "Now truly, my lords, I never had two such grooms waiting on me before!" Then, being ready for the block, one of her women took forth a handkerchief of cambric, all wrought over with gold needlework, and tied it about her face; which done, Fletcher willed her to die in the true faith of

Christ. Quoth she, "I believe firmly to be saved by the passion and blood of Jesus Christ, and therein also I believe, according to the faith of the Ancient Catholic Church of Rome, and therefore I shed my blood." She finished her happy and blessed martyrdom to the comfort of all true Catholics, and to the shame and confusion of all heretics.

This narrative of the last scene of the life of Mary is practically the same as is handed down to us by historians. It is important as coming from one of the Catholic persuasion, and especially as it confirms what we already possess.

It seems an erroneous view, that some historians take,[1] that this was a struggle for life between two women "in which one or other must fall." Mary disclaimed any intention of interfering with Elizabeth, directly or indirectly, and against the truth of that there is nothing but forged or false letters. This is a distinct matter from schemes for her release. It is not the case that "if Elizabeth had sent the fugitive back to her country it would have been sending her to the scaffold." That was a suggestion of Elizabeth's, but there is nothing on record to show that the Scottish people had any such desire. On the execution of Morton in

[1] *Burton.*

1581, Mary's enemies had nearly all passed away, and, as a matter of fact, she was willing to go back and associate herself with her son. It was no fault of hers that she lost her throne. The Darnley murder, the Bothwell marriage, the Casket Letters, the Babington conspiracy, of all these she has been proved by modern research to be innocent. Had she wanted to remove Elizabeth, she did not require to wait nineteen years for an opportunity; she could have got up a conspiracy for the purpose before she was twelve months a captive: but she never, to the end of her life, contemplated or encouraged such a plot. Too much has been made of that unfortunate treaty of Edinburgh. Her restoration would not have raised that question until the death of Elizabeth.

"To Queen Elizabeth the appeals were not only for her own life, but the throne of her ancestors, the freedom of England, and the safety of the Protestant Church."[1]

There is no justification for this. Her memory has suffered much on the "religious question." She forced her religion on nobody, and to speak of "the safety of the Protestant

[1] *Burton.*

Church" in connection with her captivity is an observation that is untenable.

"It is impossible to read Lesley's 'Vindication' without feeling that he believed her to be guilty." Burton says so, on the authority of Sir Thomas Wilson, and he quotes a letter from Wilson to Burleigh, which Froude also quotes. In this letter Wilson says the Bishop of Ross told him that—

"Mary was not fit for any husband, as she poisoned her first one, the French king. She consented to Darnley's murder. She ran away with the murderer—Bothwell—and brought him to Kirk of Field to be murdered."

Who was this Wilson, before we consider what he wrote? He was one of Burleigh's under-secretaries or emissaries, and was known to write his master the most infamous lies about Mary. One historian[1] calls this quotation "his shameless false witness of the bishop." Yet Burton and Froude, who ought to have known the character of Wilson, ask us to believe him, and on the *ipse dixit* of such a man we are to condemn the Scottish Queen!

Burton denies the statement that Mary's execution created universal indignation, and that during her ill usage there had been a general

[1] *Strickland.*

reaction in her favour. The best answer to this is the opinion of a more eminent historian :—[1]

"Such indeed was the national indignation that pervaded all classes, that James sent an express to warn Carey not to advance beyond Berwick, as it would be impossible to protect his life from the fury of the people if he ventured to enter Scotland."

Carey was an emissary of Elizabeth. This is a quotation by the Earl of Monmouth from the autobiography of Robert Carey. In addition to this, France and Spain announced that they would take steps to avenge this deed. The movement therefore cannot be denied. Again, the Northumberland rebellion was a very strong movement; the rising in Scotland to rescue Mary, when Elizabeth begged of her to induce her Scottish subjects to retire, and she would have her release, was a conspicuous reaction. Mary committed a blunder in interfering with this rebellion, as it had every prospect of succeeding. She stopped it, and Elizabeth refused to keep her promise, so that she was victimized by treachery.

"So closes the story of this beautiful and heroic queen, sadly erring no doubt, but grievously betrayed and wronged, and the lapse of three hundred years has scarcely dimmed the halo of romance which invests almost every incident of her life."

[1] *Strickland.*

CHAPTER XX.

What Mary's accusers say—Conclusion.

MARY's accusers have tried hard to ring the changes on the religious element, but this argument cannot be maintained. It is not the case that she ever desired to be separated from Darnley. It would be a great point if her accusers could make that out; but what proof have they? We do not doubt that she had reasons for divorcing him, but her reasons against divorce were stronger. They were evidently reconciled at Glasgow. He was not taken to the Kirk of Field at her instigation, but at Maitland's; and Bothwell was not singled out for free access to that lodging. He was there with other nobles, and was never known to be there alone.

She did not marry the murderer willingly, and we have no proof that he ever was a companion of hers. Where is the authority for the assertion that her friends warned her against

marrying Bothwell? The writer[1] quotes Sir James Melville, but the latter was a mere creature of Moray. Nor is it correct to say that she remained late at a ball on the eve of the murder. She was there, on the authority of reliable writers, only for one hour, from eleven to twelve. It was fortunate for herself that she did not fall into mental prostration, surrounded as she was by traitors. There is nothing in her letters to the Archbishop of Glasgow to warrant the ungenerous construction that has been put upon them. And where is the evidence that she ever was in love with Bothwell, or that she ever "granted him his reward"? Nor does it appear that Bothwell ever was a counsellor of the queen, or that he ever took precedence of Herries and others of her party in that respect. And if he carried her off willingly to Dunbar, where does the Ainslie bond come in? If this writer's hypothesis be correct, there was no need for a bond; but the bond cannot be got over.

We are not aware that Mary "did not deny" that she wrote letters to Bothwell. Where is the proof of this? And where is her admission that she signed the marriage contract of the 6th of April? The "apathy and caution of her friends"

[1] *Henderson.*

were visible in other things as well as the Casket Letters. During the most of her life in Scotland, her friends were conspicuous by their feebleness or want of energy. She made several appeals to France and Spain for help during her captivity, but the despotic rule of Elizabeth seemed to overshadow these two governments, and nothing was done. We do not see that the conduct of the Catholics affects the Letters one way or another. This writer's [1] estimate of Moray is rather one-sided, for Mary was not really indebted to her brother for anything, and she administered the government entirely by her own hand. Moray's official connection with her was of the most selfish description, while Elizabeth's conduct was indefensible. But we agree with the writer in his criticism of Skelton—

"The theory that the letters were a forgery can be maintained by Skelton only on condition that he revokes every favourable estimate that he has formed of Maitland."

Skelton's defence of Maitland is overdone. That he was a traitor cannot be denied. Much of Mary's sufferings are due to him, and had he lent the weight of his influence to her in place of selling himself to Moray, there would have been

[1] *Henderson's.*

no betrayal at Carberry Hill, and Mary's abdication would never have taken place. We have been much interested in this writer's views, and in the ingenuity of the arguments he has put forward.

Knox's history, the Book of Articles, even the "Detectio," are referred to by Fleming often and confidently as decisive authorities, and full credence is given to the stories told against Mary by Cecil's agents. That he should arrive at a conclusion utterly unfavourable to Mary follows as a matter of course from these premises. In debating views opposed to his own he is unnecessarily severe, not to say rough, and in religious discussion unusually narrow.[1]

A writer in a standard publication[2] informs us that—

"on the first Sunday in Scotland mass was said in her private chapel, a vow of Lindsay and others, that the idolater priest should die the death, being frustrated by Moray."

There was nothing to find fault with in this. She had newly arrived from France, and her retinue was mostly French, consequently Catholic. The service was private, and meant only for the

[1] *Pollen.*

[2] *T. F. H.*, in "Dictionary of National Biography."

royal household. She had no right to be interrupted, and Lindsay's conduct was a gross outrage. And again: "Shortly after her arrival she informed the people of her determination to restore Catholicism."[1]

We are informed by another historian[2] that, in August, 1561, shortly after she came to Scotland, she—

"by the advice of her Privy Council caused proclamation to be made at the Market Cross of Edinburgh that she intended not to interrupt the form of religion, which at her return she found established in her realm, and that any attempt on the part of others to do so would be punished with death."

This was the Protestant religion. Some time after, Lord Huntly requested permission from her to restore the mass, but she informed him of her proclamation, and would not allow them to do so. The letter of the pope was as follows :—

The Pope to Mary Stuart.

Rome, 3 décembre, 1561.

Itaque lætati admodum sumus et Deo gratias egimus, audientes tuo in regnum reditu Catholicorum omnium animos recreatos fuisse, in Catholica fide constantiam . . . .

[1] Letter of the pope, December 3, 1561, in the Barberini, Rome, quoted in Philippson, "Marie Stuart," ii. 33.

[2] *Strickland.*

elucere ad discutiendas errorum tenebras . . . . Præclare id quod nobis quibusdam litteris promiseras præstitisti.

Translation: "Therefore did we greatly rejoice and give thanks to God when we heard that by your return to [your] realm the spirits of all Catholics were refreshed, [and] that your steadfastness in the Catholic faith . . . shines forth to scatter the darkness of error . . . You have excellently performed what you promised us in certain letters."

There is no reason to believe that her letter to the pope was inconsistent with the proclamation referred to, and the pope's letter certainly does not bear out the writer's contention, nor can Philippson be regarded as an accurate writer. The proclamation was liberal in its terms, and Mary persistently adhered to it while she sat on the throne. She never showed any desire to restore the Catholic faith.

That "a hope was held out that Elizabeth might be the instrument to convert Mary to Christ and the knowledge of His true word" is too grotesque for serious consideration, and any one familiar with Randolph's correspondence or with the character of Elizabeth must have supposed that he was indulging in sarcasm when he wrote this. As to "Arran's scheme for carrying off the queen to Dumbarton Castle, countenanced by Bothwell," this was not a scheme of

Arran's. He was incapable. It was a scheme of Bothwell's to assassinate Moray and Maitland, put the queen in prison, and assume the regency. The plot was communicated to the queen, and was stopped. At this particular time the queen made no attempt whatever "to bring Huntly to her by ties of self-interest." On the contrary, she refused to go near him. He was a staunch friend of hers, but under Moray's influence she was alienated from him. The expedition to the north had nothing to do with religion, but was evidently undertaken for Moray's benefit. The expression, "Her only regret is that she was not a man," etc., is an invention of Randolph's, and does not appear to have been spoken by the queen at all. There is no evidence that Mary ever accepted the hand of Don Carlos or ever thought of it. According to Randolph, she refused him. Nor is there any proof that Mary expressed her determination to the Cardinal of Lorraine to re-establish at this period the old faith. The letters founded on, from Labanoff and to the pope, January 30th and 31st, ought to be reproduced. We can find nothing of the kind in Labanoff, nor is there any trace among her published letters of such a one to the pope. Mary, it is alleged, was asked by the pope to send a representative to the Council of

Trent, but there is no proof that she did so. This writer[1] also informs us that "Mary first saw Darnley at Wemyss Castle in 1569." Mary was in captivity in 1569, but the writer evidently means 1565, although Mary first saw Darnley in 1561, at Orleans Palace, in France.

"Her intentions may be judged from her letter to the pope, October, 1564, expressing her determination to root out heresy in Scotland." The leniency of Mary in religious matters was conspicuous, and if she wrote such a letter in 1564, where is it? No historian seems to have given it or even to have referred to it.

"She was hastened in her resolve by the arrival of ambassadors to obtain her adherence to the Catholic League. After their arrival, the lords in her train were required to attend mass, and she made no secret of her intention to confiscate the lands of the banished lords."

This is quoted from Bedford. Why is this letter not reproduced? Like the one of October, 1564, no one appears to have seen it, and we have no proof that Mary ever entertained such sentiments, nor any proof that she either signed or concurred with the Catholic League. It is all the other way, for we have evidence that she declined to put her signature to it. Froude makes the

[1] *Henderson.*

assertion on the authority of a letter, Randolph to Cecil, February 7, 1566 ; but Randolph never saw this bond. He made the statement on hearsay. It was an idle rumour, but a delightful piece of gossip to send to Cecil.

It was the practice of the times to confiscate the lands of the banished lords. That was part of the sentence. Mary restored these lands on the lords' return from banishment.

"It has to be borne in mind that the whole of Randolph's correspondence betrays at this period a spirit of bitter hostility to the queen, and that she sent him out of Scotland shortly afterwards, on account of his notorious dealings with her rebel subjects. On a point like this we want some better evidence than the hearsay testimony of such a witness."[1]

We are further informed that "Mary's estrangement from Darnley increased her favour towards Bothwell."[2] This is a statement without any authority whatever, and is merely the opinion of the writer. And in regard to the Glasgow visit, 1566, and the return journey—

"Some distance from the city, Bothwell met them with a cavalcade, and consigned them to a house in Kirk of Field, where Mary had been in the habit of spending the night."

[1] *Hosack.* [2] *Henderson.*

The absurdity of this is that Bothwell was not there at all. He was avoiding the queen, because of his dissolute behaviour. The confession of Hubert before his execution there is no reason to doubt. Hubert was the author of the false intimation, and he confessed he had behaved treacherously to the queen, and that the truth was that Bothwell, who knew she had gone to Glasgow, went from Liddesdale, where he was residing, to Edinburgh, because of her absence. Then we are informed that the queen, about eleven o'clock, on the night of the murder, left Kirk of Field for Holyrood in the company of Bothwell. This was evidently not the case. Her nobles escorted her to Holyrood, not Bothwell.[1] Bothwell had something else to do than escort the queen. He had the charge of the murder. He went away to look after the necessary arrangements. That "her motives for consenting to the murder have been variously interpreted"[2] is incorrect. We have no proof that she consented to it, or had anything whatever to do with it, and the assertion cannot be verified. Her accusers must bring forward unimpeachable testimony, or admit that they are unable to do so. We were not aware, nor do we believe, that "some have supposed that both the

[1] *Strickland.* [2] *Henderson.*

murder and the subsequent marriage are sufficiently explained by her need of Bothwell's help to retain the sovereignty." The marriage was one of compulsion, and was a farce, as the official records to which we have access sufficiently show. She never required Bothwell's help to retain her sovereignty, and such a statement should be accompanied with the authority. We are informed that, on the 16th of April, 1567, "Mary left for Seton House in the company of Bothwell, Huntly, Argyll, and others concerned in the murder." This is a statement that has been persistently put forward by Mary's accusers. Bothwell was not at Seton on that occasion, as has been sufficiently confirmed by official documents. He was in Edinburgh the whole time the queen was at Seton House. Mary knew he was the leader of the conspirators, and she would not have tolerated his company at Seton or anywhere else. The writer[1] goes on to inform us that, so far from aiding Lennox to bring the murderers to trial,—

"she co-operated with Bothwell and others in insuring that the trial would be a fiasco. Elizabeth, Beton, the queen mother, and the King of France warned her that she was compromising her reputation. Before the trial, Bothwell got the command of Edinburgh and Blackness Castles and the Superiority of Leith."

[1] *Henderson.*

How could she co-operate with Bothwell when it was by her request that he was brought to trial? It was a farce, because Argyll, one of the murderers, presided: Huntly, the chancellor, an accessory to the murder, supported him; Maitland, also an accessory, rode by Bothwell's side to the trial; while Caithness, a relative of Bothwell, was foreman of the jury. Bothwell had two thousand men waiting outside to protect him in case of conviction. The queen was helpless: "A more solemn farce than this trial was never acted in a court of justice."[1] Nobody would pay any attention to a letter on this subject by Elizabeth to Mary, and there is no proof that either of the other persons named, either verbally or by letter, warned her about it. Bothwell was not appointed to the command of the two castles, but from his official position he was appointed to the command of Edinburgh Castle for a short time, and he never had the Superiority of Leith.

On the evidence of the Casket Letters "the kidnapping was done at Mary's instigation, and this is corroborated by Kirkaldy." That happened when Kirkaldy was nagging Elizabeth for a loan of money, and he knew there was only one way to accomplish his purpose, viz. to traduce

[1] *Hosack.*

Mary and swear that the "letters" were genuine. The corroboration occurred in his letters to Cecil, the hollowness of which is too conspicuous for argument.

"On 27th April the lords who had met at Stirling sent her a letter offering a rescue if she had been carried off unwillingly. To this she replied, that it was true she had been evil and strangely handled, but since so well used that she had no cause to complain."[1]

Where is this letter of 27th April, and why does Froude not give it? Evidently because he could not. There is no evidence that the queen ever used these words, and until the authority is quoted and verified the statement cannot be accepted. Drury's letters are unreliable, and Richard Almacke is as reliable as "Richard of Gloucester." On the authority of James Beton, Buchanan, and the Captain of Inchkeith, they state that in this departure from Borthwick Castle—

"the queen was in men's clothes, booted and spurred, and, having Bothwell, rode with him to Dunbar. On reaching Dunbar she obtained a dress described by Drury as after the fashion of the women in Edinburgh—a red petticoat. As she was of the larger size, it reached only to her knees. It was in this that she confronted the lords at Carberry Hill."

[1] *Froude*, from MS. of Richard Almacke and Drury.

It is true that Mary fled from Borthwick during the night, dressed as a cavalier, so as to escape unobserved from Bothwell, but she was provided with proper female attire on her arrival at Dunbar. Drury's statement is the merest conjecture to please his mistress. Mary, during her whole career, was conspicuous for the taste and elegance she displayed in the arrangement of her wardrobe and in her articles of dress. It is evident from the description of the queen after the surrender at Carberry Hill, given us by more than one historian, that Drury's statement is without foundation.

In referring to Carberry Hill the same writer does the queen the injustice of passing over her honourable surrender, but, on Du Croc's authority, tells us "she talked of crucifying and hanging them all." Du Croc never said so, and no assertion like this should be given without reference. Even if she had used such language no one could blame her; for the behaviour of Morton and his associates that day was enough to draw from her such an exclamation: and when she said to Lindsay, "I will have your head for this," was she not justified? Is that to be called "crucifying and hanging them all"? On the authority of the Captain of Inchkeith and Drury, it was because

Lindsay challenged Bothwell to single combat: but the reverse is the case; Bothwell challenged Lindsay, so that the writer's object in trying to inveigle Mary and Bothwell is defeated. The fact that she voluntarily separated from him that day, and told him to escape for his life, is a proof of her relation to him being a compulsory one. That "she sacrificed her Catholicism, not merely by implication, but openly to her passion for Bothwell," is an unwarrantable and false accusation. She never sacrificed her Catholicism during the whole course of her life, and we challenge the writer to give a single occasion when "Mary openly showed her passion for Bothwell." Then we are told that in the provost's house in Edinburgh "she inveighed against the attempt to separate her from her husband." In the most reliable accounts we possess Mary made no reference whatever on that occasion to the Earl of Bothwell, her quondam husband.

That this had anything to do with sending her to Lochleven is not the case. She was sent there to enable Moray and his faction to become *ipso facto* governors of the realm, and to take the "law and the gospel" into their own hands, and to supplant the queen's public officials by creatures of their own. The writer says that—

"alternately at Lochleven the choice was given her of a divorce or an abdication, and she finally consented to the latter. It was evident both by her letters and her marriage to Bothwell that she was art and part in the murder of the king."

On what authority does the writer say that Mary had this choice? No authority at all. Divorce was never mentioned to her at Lochleven, and the writer cannot prove that she even consented to abdication. Lindsay forced her to sign an abdication, which she revoked the moment she was at liberty. And where is the proof that she was accessory to the murder? Can the writer give us a reference to a single *bonâ fide* letter of hers to Bothwell, seeing the Casket Letters have exploded? There is but one answer to this accusation. The writer adds, on the authority of Drury—

"Her over-great familiarity with George Douglas is mentioned as early as October 18, 1567, and that she had broken with the regent to marry him, Lady Douglas conniving at Mary's escape because of this."

No one but Drury said this, and the statement was served up as a savoury morsel to the palate of Elizabeth. It is the merest invention. That she had broken with the regent to marry Douglas, and that Lady Douglas connived at her

escape, is both false and ludicrous. When no evidence of these charges can be produced, there is something unfair in their repetition. A similar charge was made against her at Sheffield, in connection with Lord Shrewsbury. Lady Shrewsbury and her two sons were the authors of that scandal. They were summoned before Elizabeth at Mary's request, and commanded to go down on their knees, and swear that the report was false, and that they were the authors of it. This shows how jealous Mary was of her honour. It is not the case that "the disaster of Langside was primarily caused by the desire of the Hamiltons to frustrate her escape from them."[1] The Hamiltons and Moray were enemies, and the former, on the queen's escape, determined to fight Moray. The queen had no intention of escaping from the Hamiltons. She went direct to them for protection when she escaped from Lochleven. We disagree with this writer, that the verdict of the York and Westminster conferences was ostensibly in favour of both parties. It certainly was not so. It was absolutely in favour of Mary, as any one can see by referring to it. Again, Moray's assassination had nothing to do with "Catholicism or wild hopes of its near triumph,"

[1] *Henderson.*

any more than Tenterden Steeple has to do with Goodwin Sands. Bothwellhaugh was not a man who troubled himself about religion. He shot the regent for other reasons altogether. Quoting from Teulet, we are told "that in 1583 Shrewsbury thanked Elizabeth for having freed him from two devils," his wife and the queen. Shrewsbury made no such statement, so far as can be ascertained. Elizabeth could not free him from his wife; but her instructions to him were so tyrannical that he requested her to relieve him of the office of gaoler. That Lady Shrewsbury was a "devil" will probably not be disputed. And, with reference to the Babington conspiracy: "Since, however, she denied having any communication with Babington, a supposition which cannot be entertained, her denial was completely robbed of its value." This denial took place at her trial, where the interpolated or forged letters were read. She denied she either wrote or received such letters, and her accusers could not produce the originals. It is not denied that she wrote Babington, but she did not write the letter that was read against her, and on which she was condemned. That "Elizabeth strenuously maintained that she never intended the execution to take place," is what she said after the deed was

done. When she said so, she knew she was saying what was false, because she had signed and revoked two warrants for the execution, and it was on the signature of the third that the deed was carried out. As for "conferring on her victim the honour of a royal burial at Peterborough," the remark is simply grotesque. Elizabeth realized that she had gone too far, as she found the whole country was against her, and disapproved of her conduct. She therefore felt that a royal burial would probably stop any projected rebellion, and smooth down public feeling, seeing she could not restore her victim to life. She gave orders for a great function to take place, at a cost of £40,000, which turned out a great empty show. The members of Mary's household would have nothing to do with it: in short, looked upon it as a gross outrage on Queen Mary's memory. And so this solemn farce closed one of the greatest tragedies in Scottish history.

Conclusion.

The curtain falls, and the dramatic story of the Queen of Scots passes into history. A curious and an extraordinary story it is, with all its complications, its intrigues, its conspiracies,

and its treason. If Buchanan had never published his false history, Mary's innocence would never have been impugned. But it has been impugned and debated for upwards of three centuries, and what have her accusers made of it? They can verify nothing against her, while every fresh paper discovered at the State Paper Office, or in private collections, swells the proof of her innocence.

Mary's tragic career suggests various questions, and what was the explanation of it all? It was not caused by her want of capability, nor her want of education, nor her want of womanly attractions, for with these she was fully equipped: nor was it on account of her religion, for on that subject the nation had *carte blanche* to exercise a free hand. Her court evidently affords material for answering the question. She was surrounded by ministers and others who were destitute of all sense of honour. With them life was cheap, murder and treason no crime, and assassination one of the fine arts. There were no heroic men amongst them, and none of them possessed any nobility of character. The murders of Riccio and Darnley, the Bothwell marriage, the trial of Bothwell, the Casket Letters, and the Babington conspiracy disclosed this state of matters. What could be the condition of public morality when

the ministers of the queen were identified with crime? Moray was the head and front of the rebellion, with all its vexatious proceedings. To overthrow this faction would have been comparatively easy. We have a proof of this, when Mary returned with Darnley from Dunbar, after Riccio's murder. Moray, who led the rebels on that occasion, had a force at his back, but would not fight: and when the garrison of Edinburgh fired on him his rebellion collapsed, and he and his supporters in the most cowardly manner disappeared. That was not the conduct of a brave man, nor of one aspiring to the regency. On another occasion the queen followed him to Dumfries, and chased him out of the country. With a small but well-disciplined force she could have commanded the situation, but that she had not. From one cause and another, she seemed always to forgive Moray, while he ingratiated himself in her favour, and played double with her. This simplicity led to her downfall, as his duplicity she discovered when it was too late.

This explains why she sometimes allowed herself to be absolutely under his control. This was illustrated at the Huntly rebellion, when Moray pursued a policy that is one of the greatest blots on the history of the period. And

though persistent efforts have been made to defend Moray, and lay the responsibility on the queen, there is no authority to justify such a course. Ranged alongside of him were most of Mary's ministers, and they evidently resolved to stand or fall by him. His influence over them was notorious, and, whatever his faults, he controlled these men till his death. Moray exhibited no social qualities, but he had great force of character, an unforgiving disposition, and a sullen temper. His influence over the queen was paramount before her marriage, but Darnley seems to have completely removed him from that confidential position. This was too much for a man of Moray's temperament, and from the date of that event, July 29, 1565, his attitude to the queen was that of a traitor. He slowly but deliberately proceeded to formulate his forecast of future events. This must have confronted him with almost insurmountable difficulty, on account of the unscrupulous policy he meant to pursue. He took Morton, Maitland, Ruthven, Lindsay, and others into his confidence. Meantime the queen had appointed Riccio her private secretary. The first move on the chess-board was to remove him, and he was in due course assassinated. Moray played a bold stroke when

he got Darnley to join this conspiracy. Then there was that memorable meeting at Craigmillar in November, 1566, when Moray, Maitland, and Bothwell begged the queen to divorce Darnley. And because she refused to do so, they resolved to murder him. Morton, Lindsay, and others were in banishment for Riccio's murder. They were, however, recalled at Moray's request, and to serve his purpose. The object of the divorce was to enable Moray to exercise uncontrolled influence over the queen, which he could not do so long as she had a husband.

The Craigmillar meeting, so far as we know it, was of great importance, but, unfortunately, we are only in possession of the barest report of what occurred. And whose report is it? The night before the meeting, and probably for some days before, these men were living in Craigmillar. It is not alleged what special business took them there, but we may assume that their proceedings, since Riccio's murder, were directed to the accomplishment of no less an object than the removal of the king. That they had several interviews with the queen at Craigmillar, and that she was hard pressed to give her consent to their scheme, is very probable, but our knowledge is restricted to the report of their final meeting with

her. Darnley had betrayed these men, and in addition to his being an eyesore to Moray, there can be no doubt he was regarded by them as a man who was incapable of fulfilling the duties of his high position. In that opinion we entirely concur, and if Moray and his companions had contented themselves with compelling a divorce, no one would have blamed them. As to whether Darnley should be divorced or assassinated, they were evidently divided, though Moray, Morton, Maitland, Douglas, and Lindsay carried their point afterwards for assassination. And it is at this point that the mystery of their conduct comes in. The Craigmillar meeting settled the point that the queen would have nothing to do with them in respect of any proceedings against Darnley, but she could not control them. Over these men she had no power. It took them about three months to mature their plans for murder; and, from Maitland's subsequent disclosure, they must have been at this period in a very unsettled condition, not knowing how far the people would support them. They felt that if their plot was to succeed there was only one course open to them, and that was to get the queen inveigled into it. Were this not attempted and the king murdered, they knew that the queen, who had the full

confidence of the people, would immediately raise forces, apprehend them, and put them to death. To involve her, therefore, was essential to their success. Their very lives depended upon it, and what then was to be done?

It is evident that during the queen's visit to Glasgow she neither wrote to nor received letters from Bothwell. The man who confessed this, shortly before his death, was a paid spy, but the letters did duty at the time by enabling Moray and the rebels to make a link in their chain of false evidence for accusing her of Darnley's murder. The conspirators did their work very secretly, for there is nothing in the Calendar of State Papers referring to the murder between the Craigmillar meeting in November and February 10th, when the deed was done. During that period only four letters from Maitland are recorded, and these do not refer to the conspiracy. The time must have been fully occupied adjusting details. It was a bold and skilful plot from their point of view. To remove Darnley, the aid of Bothwell, a daring and unscrupulous man, was called in, and the bribe was that he would be allowed to marry the queen. This murder happened eleven months after that of Riccio. Then came the critical point on which

the whole conspiracy depended. They must incriminate and remove the queen, she being the only obstacle between Moray and the regency. This was a matter that required grave consideration, and the plan adopted is probably unexampled in the history of conspiracy, lawlessness, and treason. Following up their promise to Bothwell, they met in Ainslie's tavern, signed the bond required by Bothwell, and handed it to him. Within five days afterwards, Bothwell seized the queen and carried her to Dunbar. This raised profound suspicion against her, the very thing the conspirators wanted, and it paved the way for Moray. The people never suspected him of treason, but they began to think that the queen was really and truly accessory to the murder when Bothwell could run away with her. For the moment, she was denounced as a murderer, and this accounts for the insults she received at Carberry Hill, some weeks thereafter. No more skilful plot could have been conceived to affront the queen in the eyes of her subjects. She, by common rumour, was ostensibly the murderer, while the actual murderers emerged from the scene unscathed by suspicion. In a secret conspiracy like this the people had no means of getting at the truth, and they never suspected

Moray or Maitland of misleading them. The Bothwell marriage was a trap to make them believe that she was an accomplice. Her sovereign authority never received so overwhelming a blow as this, and she never recovered from it. And during the few weeks she compulsorily lived with Bothwell, she signed no less than fourteen charters, which, of course, would strengthen the public impression that her marriage with him was voluntary.

Maitland was also living at Dunbar Castle, supporting Bothwell in playing this game of treason; and these charters Maitland, on pretence that Bothwell's conduct was approved of, put before the queen for signature. At Carberry Hill Morton's determination was to get hold of the queen's person, and this he and his associates accomplished by perjuring themselves. They ordered Kirkaldy to accept the queen's surrender on honourable terms. No sooner was this done than she was betrayed, made prisoner, and taken to Lochleven. When she afterwards escaped she had a splendid opportunity of effecting her restoration but for the rash and impulsive conduct of the Hamiltons which caused the disaster of Langside.

The first of the conspirators to repent was Maitland, who said, after he put the queen in

Lochleven, that "the voice of the country was against them, and they were at their wits' end what to do." They had miscalculated their popularity, but they had neither the honesty nor the independence to acknowledge it. Moray's next move to establish the innocence of his *confrères* was quite as ingenious as the signing of the Ainslie bond. He inspired the Casket Letters, got them skilfully prepared, and presented a copy of them at the York and Westminster conferences which met to give judgment on Mary's guilt or innocence. His idea was that this would be the last act of his programme, and that Mary, because of the letters, would be condemned and executed. In this he was disappointed, as Elizabeth declared his accusation to be worthless, and Mary was absolved. These were all great events, happening within the short period of two years. There can be no doubt that the public attention was seriously aroused by them, and that suspicion ultimately began to be drawn from the queen to Moray and his companions. We are not sufficiently informed by the historical narrative to say to what extent this suspicion prevailed. Moray's regency was destined to last only two years and five months when he also was assassinated. That no steps were taken to bring the

assassin to justice indicates that the people were displeased with Moray's administration and were glad to get quit of him. The event acted like an electric shock on his supporters, including Elizabeth. It was unexpected, but the Hamiltons had reason to know it was well deserved. Why Hamilton shot the regent is a controversial point, and probably will never be cleared up. The story of his wife being ejected from her home by Moray on a winter night is not confirmed, and is probably a fable. Elizabeth felt that Moray's death was a blow of far-reaching consequence, and to relieve her wounded spirit she ordered her ambassador to nominate Lennox to the regency. This act was very inconsistent with her conduct to Lennox at the time Darnley was married. Lennox was a poor silly creature, and his successor, Mar, was not much better. After this Morton became regent, a man who did not possess one redeeming quality. He eventually was compelled to resign, and some time afterwards he was accused of being accessory to Darnley's murder, and was tried and executed.

From 1567, when the queen was imprisoned in Lochleven, till 1587, when she was beheaded, the administration of the English and Scottish Governments was characterized by a selfish and

unreasonable policy which might safely be called oppression. The four regents, Moray, Lennox, Mar, and Morton, were mere puppets of the English crown, and, there is reason to believe, were receiving salaries from Elizabeth for the express purpose of keeping up a rebellion against Mary, and for the subversion of her crown and authority. It is a striking comment on their administration that while they were traitors to their sovereign they were all assassinated or beheaded. But the greatest figure in this *tableau vivant* was Elizabeth, and the humility and servility of her ministers were notorious. Even the great Cecil paled before his august sovereign when he committed the unpardonable sin of going to Buxton to see Mary—ostensibly to drink the waters.

A great deal of controversy has taken place over the Babington conspiracy. It was skilfully managed, and disgraced all who were connected with it. We cannot help identifying Elizabeth with its conception and development, for it is beyond doubt that Walsingham, her secretary, who had the sole direction of it, communicated to her all his negotiations, including the sending of a spy to Paris to Mary's friends to suggest Elizabeth's assassination. He, as the head of the spies, was admirably adapted for this work, but while his

cunning practices served their purpose at the time, he cannot impose on posterity, for posterity will estimate him at his true value. His interpolations on Mary's letters provided for the assassination of Elizabeth, and on the strength of these Mary was condemned, and twelve men, including Babington, cruelly executed. There are those, and not an insignificant number, who condemn Mary because of this conspiracy; but what is their authority? Mary's letters to Babington, as she wrote them, never were produced. They were evidently destroyed by Walsingham because they had no reference to Elizabeth's assassination. Mary, on her solemn oath, emitted a declaration repudiating any connection with such a plot, and she demanded a sight of any letters of hers so as to verify her words. Her accusers were unable to produce any such letters. Notwithstanding this, Walsingham accused her of the assassination scheme, an accusation he knew to be false. The Babington plot was for her release and nothing more, and she was quite entitled to encourage any such scheme. The assassination of Elizabeth formed no part of the plot of Anthony Babington. But to accomplish her condemnation it became an integral part of the Walsingham scheme, which embraced the most skilful interpolation of letters

that is to be found in history. To what extent the thirty-six commissioners before whom Mary was tried knew of this, we shall never know. Only a very one-sided report of the trial has come down to us.

Nineteen years of captivity broke down Mary's physical frame, but her clear intellect remained unimpaired to the end. This was conspicuous at the trial, where her impassioned eloquence rose to the occasion. She never at any period of her life showed to greater advantage. For two days she kept Elizabeth's commissioners spellbound, and the most eminent advocate she could have chosen could not have more ably conducted the defence.

Of the whole scheme of the conspirators, dating from Riccio's murder, the Casket Letters were unquestionably its weakest element. This may be a debateable point, but, judging from every authentic document available, we cannot come to any other conclusion. The Bothwell marriage is in precisely the same position. Where is the evidence against her that is incontrovertible? If she wished to marry Bothwell, we would have had some genuine proof of it. She had plenty of suitors during her life, and we have no difficulty in defining her position towards them.

But, as for Bothwell, there is no authentic proof whatever, that she ever wished to have anything to do with him. Nor is there any proof that she wrote him a single letter, and no one alleges he ever wrote her. His conduct, from the day he seized her to the 15th of June, when he left her at Carberry Hill, is a series of ingenious subterfuges manifesting conspicuously the game he was playing at the call of the conspirators. The proclamation to the troops at Carberry Hill, the forged letter ordering Craig to proclaim the banns of marriage, the paper read to the nobles proclaiming her forgiveness of their conduct to herself, and intimating that she married Bothwell voluntarily; all these are notoriously the composition of Bothwell, without her consent, and as records of history are perfectly worthless. But the murder of Darnley, the Casket Letters, and this marriage vanish before the treacherous villainy of the Babington conspiracy. This conspiracy, as already stated, was directed by the Queen of England, carried out by secretary Walsingham, and culminated in the execution of Babington and the Queen of Scots, for a crime of which both were absolutely innocent. In our own day the archives of the Vatican have been carefully searched in order to discover what

correspondence took place between Mary and the pope. Nothing, however, has come to light to alter the opinion we have expressed.

In regard to the policy of Elizabeth, there can be no doubt it was due in some measure to the foolish conduct of Mary in using, in a very ostentatious manner, the arms of England, which Elizabeth regarded as a menace to her throne and to her authority ; but, notwithstanding this, Mary was obdurate. Mary was well warned ; and finally, on December 2, 1566, Elizabeth, writing to her, said, "As Alexander said that Carthage could not endure two kings, so we also will not have a rival empire." This was a significant intimation, and it is surprising that Mary did not take the hint ; but in her captivity she had time to bitterly repent of her foolishness.

The position of Mary in Scottish history will always be a subject of controversy, for there will be found students in every age who will range themselves on either side. But of this we are certain, that those who study the historical narrative with the greatest care and impartiality will be those who will assert her innocence, and will repudiate the unfounded charges of her accusers.

APPENDIX

The Cassillis Correspondence.
Inventory of Queen Mary's Jewels.
The Casket Letters.
Queen Mary's Household at Sheffield.
Shrewsbury's Charges for Soldiers.
Shrewsbury's Charges for the Queen's Board.
Plate and Bedding for Mary's Accommodation at Tutbury.
Relics of Queen Mary.

THE CASSILLIS CORRESPONDENCE.

Queen Mary had great confidence in her warm friends and supporters the Kennedys of Cassillis. Gilbert Kennedy, Earl of Cassillis, was the Lord Chamberlain of Scotland when he was sent as a commissioner with the Earl of Moray and others to represent Scotland at the marriage of Mary with the Dauphin of France. This nobleman died on the journey home. The next Earl of Cassillis was also a warm friend and supporter of Mary, and it is with him this correspondence took place. The letters, twelve in number, have been carefully preserved, and are in the possession of the Marquis of Ailsa at Culzean Castle. By permission of his lordship, we have been permitted to reproduce them.

Queen Mary to the Earl of Cassillis.

No. 1.

To our Trusty Cousin the Earl of Cassillis,—Forasmuch as we by the advice of the Lords of the Privy Council and others of the nobility who were present have found it expedient for the commonweal of our realm that we and our good sister the Queen of England shall meet this summer at some place near the borders of both realms so that we may be familiarly entertained (*familiaritie interteny*) and increase farther the amity betwixt us, In which event it is necessary for our honour that we be well and honourably accompanied with the most able and best qualified persons of our realm. In which number we have thought proper to include you,

being assured as well of your qualification as of your disposition to do us service, Therefore we require of you that ye address yourself and be in readiness to pass with us in that journey on the 15th of July next, and on the same day to meet us at Edinburgh well furnished for two or three months after your coming, and for that time will be clad in *deuil*. Therefore you and others in your company will dress after that sort. Fail not herein so as ye will declare yourself willing to set forth the honour of the realm your pleasure and a duty to us.

MARIE R.

Edinburgh, May 29, 1562.

No. 2.

We have received your letter, and, by the contents thereof, understand your mind and will towards our service, whereof as occasion shall serve we shall desire you effectually to continue in the same. And by reason of these troubles which have lately occurred we have delayed doing anything: such forces and assemblies as we require are not at present necessary. Nevertheless we pray you to address yourself, accompanied with your household and dependants and such barons as you know are willing to forward our enterprise, to come to us with all possible diligence. And at meeting ye shall know our mind and intention on all matters. And so we commit you to the protection of Almighty God.

MARIE R.

Edinburgh, March 6, 1565.

To our Trusty Cousin and Counsellor,
the Earl of Cassillis.

No. 3.

TRUSTY COUSIN,—Forasmuch as I for the safety of my body, finding no sure access nor place within my realm to retire to at this time, as you may know, I was constrained to leave the same and to pass into this country of England, where I

Mary Stuart.

From the portrait in the Louvre. Sauvageot Collection.

LECLERCQ LONDON

assure you I have been right well received and honourably accompanied and treated. I have resolved to pass forward into France, to pray the king, my good brother, to support and help me to deliver and relieve my realm of such rebellious troubles and oppressions that now reign within the same; and to depart forth of this town the 23rd day of this month. Therefore I pray you earnestly, trusty cousin, that ye in the meantime hold yourself constant in my service, and advertise your friends and neighbours to do the same, and to be in readiness to serve me when the occasion shall offer, as you have done truly before this time, specially at the last battle where, as I am informed, you have done right well your part, ye being on your feet (safe), which shall not be forgotten by me in time coming. With the help of God I hope to return again about the 15th day of August next, with good company for the effect aforesaid, God willing. This I believe ye will do, as my trust is and was always in you. And for to make an end of my bill, I will commit you to the protection of the Eternal God.

MARIE R.

Carlisle, May 20, 1568.

To my Lord, the Earl of Cassillis.

No. 4.

MY LORD,—We have received your letter of the 25th of this instant, and thereby understand your constancy is well proven to us, and will never be forgotten so long as we live if God give us occasion and means to reward the same. We are here honourably received, and in very good hope shortly to write to you such things as shall be to your comfort and our welfare; for we doubt not to be put in our place again, with the grace of God, the help of good friends (here your lordship), and our loving subjects' assistance very shortly; also soon ye will begin to have some experience. In the mean

time you may well assure yourself, there shall no earthly pleasure comfort us until we help to relieve our troubled friends, praying you to exercise your wit to entertain and comfort them whom you find bear us a good mind. And do what you can to win such friends as ye find are not notable offenders to us, whose favour we desire not. We commit my lord to your own constant and friendly wisdom until you receive a more special advertisement. Committing you to the protection of Almighty God.

MARIE R.

Carlisle, May 25th, 1568.

To our Trusty Cousin and Counsellor,
the Earl of Cassillis.

No. 5.

RIGHT TRUSTY COUSIN,—We have received your letter, and understand the same. We have written to you lately about our proceedings, thanking you for your good merit and service done to us. As, God willing, when it shall please Him to restore us to our own most righteous position, ye shall not think your good service evil bestowed. Not doubting but ye will continue firm and stable in the same; and yet being, thanks to God in good health and welfare we thought expedient by this letter to assure you of the same, praying you that you let my Lord Moray receive none of our mails in these parts, nor any of his. But that ye "uptak" and receive the same, bestowing it on soldatis (soldiers) who do us service where ye have ado with them such as we have written to the Laird of Lochinver and others in the country. Lord Fleming arrived yesterday to us from London, and is now in Scotland, to whom ye shall give credit. He will show you of our proceedings at more length and amply than we think it expedient to write at this time. Fear not what contrary tidings be shown you of us, for, God willing, our true and faithful subjects will get relief from France and Spain,

supposing England will not assist us, to the destruction of our enemies and your honour and comfort.

Referring the rest to your faithful constancy, we commit you to the protection of God Almighty.

Your most assured friend,

MARIE R.

Carlisle, July 6, 1568.

To our Right Trusty Cousin,
the Earl of Cassillis.

No. 6.

RIGHT TRUSTY COUSIN,—We greet you well. We have understood your good mind and service to us, being amply declared by our trusty cousin Lord Boyd. Of the which we thank you, and hope in God shortly to remember the same by our own presents. Ye shall write that at this conference, which has been in York between our commissioners and those of the queen, our good sister, where our rebels have been heard and found nothing to their advantage, our affairs (thanks to God) have proceeded in good manner, and are well advanced. And the queen, our good sister, in the mean time has desired us to send some of our lords to her, as in like manner, if the said rebels will be there, we have sent up our trusty counsellor the Bishop of Ross, Lord Herries, and the Abbot of Kilwinning. At whose returning we hope to have some good news. And as we are advised of the furtherance thereof, in the same manner shall make you participant of the same. We have written to you lately anent that which the bearer hereof, Mr. James Boyd, showed us of the credit he had of you, and considered the same at good length, wherein, God willing, as time shall serve, and being in our own Estate, hope to satisfy you not only in that but in such other matter as presently ye require. But shall so gratify you for the good service and faithful mind we have of you that your posterity shall know ye have not bestowed the same in vain. Considering the state

we are presently in, we could not fulfil your whole desire in effect as you required as invaluable for your profit, whereof we have communicated with the bearer at more length, who will declare our mind more amply. Praying you to continue in keeping the country and our faithful subjects (so far as ye may) in good peace and quietness till our obedience. Referring the rest to our next communication, we commit you to the protection of God Almighty.

Bolton, October 22, 1568.

[In the queen's own hand:] Ye shall be assured that I shall be always careful of your welfare and of your home as you shall wish me, as you shall hear by your own men, to whom I have spoken my mind.

Your right good cousin,
MARIE R.

To our Right Trusty Cousin,
the Earl of Cassillis.

No. 7.

Forasmuch as we are advised that our commissioners for divers reasonable causes have broken the negotiation of our affairs which were before our sister the Queen of England, and have taken up the matter from her for, as we perceive, no good reasons to be had thereby, seeing the rebels continue in the destruction, they may do us or our faithful subjects and realm, with the intention to make war from this time if they be allowed. We pray you that you be in readiness with your whole friends and forces in a substantial manner, to watch the said rebels, and take the first advantage that may be got of them, not only to stop their way in home-coming, if that were possible, but if ye can apprehend any of the leaders of them who are at home, so that no time be lost. We have not as yet got notice hereof from our commissioners; but so soon as we

get the same, ye shall be participant, God willing, whom preserve you.

Your good cousin,

MARIE R.

Bolton, December 6, 1568.

No. 8.

We have received your letter from your servant, Sanders Eccles, who has shown us of two horses ye have sent us, that are standing in Dumfries because as yet we are not resolved that they could come here. Thanking you very heartily therefor, we have desired the said Sanders to retain the horses in Dumfries till we get other news from the Court of England, and that for ten or twelve days, and we may then know what shall be done with the same. Wherefore ye shall excuse him if he tarry long. We have no other news to write to you, than that we have written to the Laird of Skeldon, which as such occur ye shall be advised of the same. So we commit you to the protection of God Almighty.

Your right good cousin,

MARIE R.

Bolton, January 5, 1569.

No. 9.

Being ever surely persuaded of your faithfulness and constancy to our service, we doubt not but ye will continue in the same. And now, specially seeing the position of our affairs, and that they are so near apparently to take good effect, we beseech you that you persevere in putting forward all that may redound to the welfare and maintenance of our authority. And albeit we write not so amply nor so often to every one of you as we would wish, for divers reasons, chiefly because our letters are intercepted by the way, yet be not discouraged nor scared thereat, if we write to those only of whom ye may understand or desire well enough: and think not that we live

for that to esteem every man in his own degree, but, considering our conveniences, if we may not write to all ye shall excuse us therein. Wherefore we have despatched our loyal servant the laird of Gartly, present bearer hereof, to all those with whom he may communicate, to show you our mind more amply than we can write, whom ye shall credit, as also our trusty cousin and counsellor the Duke of Chatelherault, being returned to our realm, will declare and make more manifest unto you our will and intention. So we commit you to the protection of God Almighty.

Your right good cousin,

MARIE R.

Tutbury, February 10, 1569.

[In the queen's own hand and in French, she adds the following postscript :—]

I beg you, in the absence of Lord Boyd, whom I retain for a time in my service, to support and maintain his son a servitor in their actions. Lord Herries will inform you of the state of my affairs. I beg you also to make use of his good counsel, as you would that of him who conducts the business of the State here.

No. 10.

Marvelling greatly that this long time we have heard none of our advertisements furth of Scotland. Now presently we have received the double of certain articles which the queen, our good sister, has sent to us by Mr. John Wood, containing the heads of certain discussions between the Duke of Chatelherault and others with the Earl of Moray at Glasgow, the 13th day of March last, wherein there are divers things contained not only prejudicial to us, but also to their own honour and dignity, also promises so often made and confirmed to us as their sovereign which makes us in no way to believe. The same are invented by the rebels, as divers others have been before, so as to cause us to take an evil opinion of our faithful

subjects, which we will not do until such time as we are surely informed, not doubting but ye will remain in like manner constant towards us, and make us aware at least of your own part in all proceedings. For (praise be to God) we are in hope of good success and expedition in our cause, through good encouragement and hopeful letters that we have received from the queen our good sister, as also by assurances and letters that we have presently received from France, which the present bearer will make known to you, whom ye shall credit. Referring the rest to your advertisement we commit you to the protection of God Almighty.

Your good cousin and friend,

MARIE R.

Tutbury, April 7, 1569.

No. 11.

Forasmuch as in time past we have ever advised you by our letters of our proceedings with the Queen of England our good sister, not so amply as we would have done by reason of the dangers of the passage between the realms. And now our trusty cousin and counsellor Lord Boyd, one of our commissioners to our said sister, being returned from her and her counsel, we have despatched him to declare unto you at length the truth and good estate of our affairs and our mind in all things. Because of his capability we would not write amply, but refer the same to him, whom ye shall credit as ourselves. We commit you to the protection of God Almighty.

Your good cousin,

MARIE R.

Wingfield, June 4, 1569.

No. 12.

Forasmuch as we understand that in the great troubles of our realm and the innumerable revolting of our subjects against us ye have always borne a good mind toward us and our true subjects. Yet, notwithstanding, partly from fear of loss of your goods, and partly by the crafty persuasions of our enemies, ye have been constrained either to concur with our

adversaries or else to lie by and abstract your forces from the aid and support of our lieutenant and the rest of our followers, And therefore we will not interpret your assistance to our rebels in time past in any evil spirit, because we are surely persuaded of your good mind. Neither will we put you among the number of our rebels, but rather esteem you a favourer and dutiful subject in your heart, and because our intent is to support you and to encourage you to profess openly your obedience to us, as your undoubted and natural sovereign. And for that reason we have given charge to our trusty cousin and counsellor the Bishop of Galloway to declare to you our mind and will towards you and yours, as well for the advancement of our service as to save you from great inconveniences whom ye shall credit as ourselves, who as a faithful commissioner has well and diligently done his best in treating with the queen our good sister, for our restoration, and relief of you and our good subjects. And seeing there is no occasion, notwithstanding this new enemy, to despair of the obtaining of a final end of our long detention at our said good sister's hand, we will that you in time to come declare yourself, so as hereafter ye would have us your friend for ever, and as ye would we should esteem you worthy of our favour and reward. And that ye fail not presently to assist our said cousin with your counsel, and aid for the furthering of such things as concern the advancement of affairs. And so ye shall understand that we have assigned to our said cousin furth of our thirds as much yearly as will make his bishopric of Galloway free of all pensions during his lifetime. Therefore we pray you to make him payment of as much as shall be assigned to him furth of your abbeys of Glencairn and Crossraguel, of the thirds of which shall be allowed to you by our collectors, and admitted to you in our exchequer accounts. This we desire to do as ye value our favour, whereof we desire your assistance. So we commit you to God.

Your right good friend and cousin,

MARIE R.

Sheffield, May 6, 1571.

INVENTORY OF QUEEN MARY'S JEWELS.

Fotheringay, February 20, 1587. — An Inventory of the Jewels, Plate, Money, and other Goods found in the Custody of the several Servants of the Late Queen of Scots. As followeth :—

In the custody of Andrew Melville.	Furniture for a bed, wrought with needlework of silk, silver and gold, with divers devices and arms, not thoroughly finished.	To be delivered by him to the King of Scots.
	A piece of a unicorn's horn, with a little pendant of gold.	
	A cloth of estate, garnished with arms.	
	Certain pictures of the said late queen's ancestors.	

JEWELS.

In the custody of— Melville.	A little tablet of gold, enamelled, containing the picture of the King of Scots.
	The pictures of the French king and queen, set in a fair book of gold, enamelled blue ; with a chain of gold to the same also enamelled and garnished with stones.
	A pair of bracelets of gold, set with agate, containing the history of the Passion of Christ.
The Physician.	Three little cups of ebony wood, tipped with gold, with their several cases.
	A little bottle of gold, containing a stone medicinable for the colic.
	Another little bottle of silver, containing a stone medicinable against poison.
	A ring of gold with a fair tabled sapphire.
	A lesser ring of gold, enamelled.

The Apothecary.	A ring of gold with a fair tabled diamond. A great Agnus Dei, with a glass of crystal, set in ebony wood. The said apothecary hath in his custody a ring of gold with a counterfeit agate, given by the said queen to her Pasteler.
The Surgeon.	A ring of gold, enamelled. An isamowe ring. A brooch with a counterfeit agate. A little looking-glass of crystal. Two small silver boxes with balm, black and white. A little gun with wheels, seeming to be of gold.
The Priest.	A little cross of gold, plain. A little ring of gold.
Dedier.	A cross of gold, plain. A signet of gold. A little bird of gold, enamelled green.
Lawder.	A ring of gold with a counterfeit agate. A ring of gold, enamelled white. A little escutcheon of gold with a crown and a red lion.
The Master Cook.	A ring of gold with a counterfeit agate. A small ring of gold, enamelled.
Hannibal.	A little gun with wheels, seeming to be of gold. A little bow and arrow of gold. A little ring of gold, enamelled black and white. A matins book with clasps of gold, set with diamonds, and covered with black velvet.

MONEY.

Melville.	200 French crowns.
The Physician.	200 French crowns for himself. He is also charged with— 150 French crowns for the expenses of the whole company in their travel. 50 French crowns for Robert of the stable. 2 rose nobles to be given to the poor. — The physician charged with these parcels.
The Apothecary.	200 French crowns for himself. He is also charged with— 150 crowns for Nicholas Pasteler. 100 crowns for Baltazar Hully. 2 rose nobles to be given to the poor. — The apothecary charged with these parcels.
The Surgeon.	200 French crowns. He is also charged with— 2 rose nobles to be given to the poor.
The Priest.	100 French crowns for himself. He is also charged with— 233 crowns and a tiara to be distributed to the poor in England, or elsewhere.
Dedier.	60 French crowns. He is also charged with— 2 rose nobles to be given to the poor.
Lawder.	200 French crowns. He is also charged with— 3 rose nobles to be given to the poor.
Hannibal.	200 French crowns. He is also charged with— 2 rose nobles to be given to the poor.

The Master Cook. { 200 French crowns for himself.
He is also charged with—
100 French crowns for his son.
320 crowns for Plonnart, the embroiderer.

Mooreton. { 118 French crowns.

Hamilton. { 150 French crowns.

Percy. { 100 French crowns.

Symon. { 100 French crowns and 300 counters of silver.
He is also charged with—
2 rose nobles to be given to the poor.

Jane Kennedy. { 338 French crowns for herself.
She is also charged with—
20 crowns for the said late queen's laundress at Fotheringay.

Elizabeth Curle. { 500 French crowns for herself.
She is also charged with—
200 crowns given, as she saith, to one of her sisters.
100 crowns given to Lawrence, Curle's man.

Gillies Mowbray. { 150 French crowns.

Rallay al Beauregard. { 100 French crowns.

Mary Page. { 300 French crowns for herself.
She is also charged with—
300 French crowns for her father, Bastian Page.

Susan Kirkaldy. { 100 French crowns.

Summa—4 ga—900—79 French crowns. And in other money £11 5s. Beside 300 silver counters.

JEWELS.

In the custody of Elizabeth Curle.

A jewel made in the form of a scorpion, garnished with rubies and other small stones.

A tablet of gold with a cupid, set about with small rubies, three diamonds, and a great pearl in the end.

A chain of coral and musk; the said musk being enclosed in gold, and environed in the midst with pearls.

A chain of small pearls.

A chain of amber intermixed with small pearls and other little grains.

A book of gold, enamelled, containing the pictures of the late Scottish queen, her husband, and her son.

A ring of gold with a ruby.

A ring of gold with a diamond.

A ring made of the mother-of-pearl with a blue sapphire.

A spear of gold, enamelled.

A little tree of gold with a queen sitting in the top, and a boy pulling down the branches.

A little looking-glass covered with silver.

Twelve billiars with the bowl of ivory.

The said Elizabeth Curle hath also in her custody these parcels following :—

A device of Esop, in gold. } To be delivered
Two little rings, the one of them with a diamond. } by her to Curle's wife.

A little bear, enamelled white. } For Curle's young child.
Two small rings, the one of them with five little opals.
A little chain of coral and mother-of-pearl.

Jane Kennedy.

A jewel * of gold made in the form of a rock, all set with diamonds and rubies.

* This jewel is said to have been sent from her majesty to the said late queen, eleven years past, by Mr. Beale.

A looking-glass of gold, cut and set about with little diamonds.

A looking-glass of gold, enamelled red, containing the picture of Francis, the French king, with a pendant of gold.

A pair of beads of gold and agate, with a cross of gold at the end.

A martren, the head and feet being of gold, and the neck set with diamonds and rubies.

A Hermine, with feet and head of gold, the neck and eyes set with rubies and diamonds.

Certain chains of jet.

Renee Rallay al Beauregard.

A ring of gold with a fair tabled diamond.

A chain of pearl and amber.

A jewel of crystal, compassed with gold.

A little gold bodkin to stick in a woman's hair with a white sapphire at the end.

Gillies Mowbray.

A pair of gold bracelets.

A jewel of crystal set in gold.

A little oxe of gold, enamelled red.

Mary Page.

A little heart of amber enclosed in gold.

A little crown of thorns in gold, enamelled, with a white sapphire at the end.

A little horse of gold with a man upon it.

A little heart of silver, gilt and enamelled.

The said Mary Page hath in her custody for her father, Bastian Page—

A jewel of gold set with four pearls and three other stones, with a blue sapphire in the midst.
A little bird of gold, enamelled green.
— To be given to Bastian.

Item for her mother—

A pair of perfumed bracelets, intermixed with silver.
Isamowe rings with 6 links.
— To be delivered to Bastian's wife.

Susan Kirkaldy.
- A little heart of gold, enamelled.
- A small tablet of silver, gilt.
- Another little tablet of silver, enamelled.
- A little ring of gold.

PLATE.

In the custody of—

Dedier.
- A cup with a cover of silver gilt.
- Two cups of assay of silver gilt.
- An ewer of silver gilt.
- Two flagons of silver tied together.
- A little flagon, gilt.
- A stone pot garnished with silver gilt.

Lawder.
- The said late queen's own trencher of silver gilt.
- Two silver spoons.
- A bottle of silver gilt.
- A silver salt, gilt.
- A little silver salt, plain.

The Apothecary.
- A silver goblet.

The Master Cook.
- A silver chafing-dish.
- A porridge dish with a cover of silver.
- A little gridiron of silver.

Symon.
- A little silver candlestick, which served to hang at the queen's bed head.

The priest claimeth as of the queen's gift—
A silver chalice with a cover.
Two silver cruets.
Four images, the one of Our Lady in red coral, with divers other vestments and necessaries belonging to a massing priest.

Elizabeth Curle.
- A possenet of silver.
- A little silver pot with a cover.
- Three little silver boxes, gilt.
- Two little flagons of silver gilt.
- A little casting bottle for sweet water, gilt.
- Two standing bowls of mazuro, garnished with silver and gilt.
- Six little tuns of silver.
- A little silver salt, gilt in the edges.
- A little silver cup, with a cup of assay, gilt.
- A candlestick of silver gilt.
- A little silver bell.
- Two standishes of silver, the one plain, the other gilt in the edges.

Jane Kennedy.	Two silver basins, the one great, the other small. A ewer of silver. A little silver spoon, gilt. A little pan of silver. A little coquemar of silver. A little pocket box of silver.
Mary Page.	A warming pan of silver. A little pocket box of silver.
Susan Kirkaldy.	A silver pot.

Besides the money before remembered, I, Amyas Paulet, delivered by direction from the said late queen, under her sign, out of her money seized by me at Chartley, as well to those left there at the time of her removal from there, as to Sharpe her coachman, and others discharged at Fotheringay, the sum of £102 18*s.* 6*d.*, which is set down the more particularly to the end that it may appear that the said late queen hath not bestowed her money upon indirect and sinister purposes, since the restitution thereof made unto her at Fotheringay.

APPAREL.

In the custody of—	
Melville.	A cloak of black figured velvet, furred with white wolves.
The Physician.	A black satin cloak, garded with velvet. A cloak of coarse grograin garnished with taffeta.
The Apothecary.	A cloak of figured velvet. Two hats.
The Surgeon.	A cloak of wrought taffeta. A hat of unshorn velvet.
Dedier.	A loose gown of black satin, cut.
Lawder.	A kirtle of black and russet taffeta.
Hannibal.	A gown of figured velvet with a standing collar. A short cloak of serge lined with figured velvet. A velvet hat.
The Master Cook.	A kirtle of taffeta of gross silk.

Hamilton.
- A gown of russet damask, furred with grey coney.
- A fur hat.

Morton.
- A gown of black satin, all cut and laid on with lace.
- An old black velvet gown, broken.
- A coat of brown velvet.

Symon.
- A kirtle of russet taffeta.

Jane Kennedy.
- A gown of tuft taffeta.
- A gown of double cypress.
- A doublet of violet satin, cut, covered with lawn.
- A black satin doublet.
- A russet satin doublet.
- A petticoat of russet damask, furred with lamb.
- A cloak of black cloth with skirts to the same.
- Two waistcoats of silk.
- A taffeta hat.
- All her stockings.
- All her gloves.

Elizabeth Curle.
- A silk chamlet gown.
- A petticoat of black silk chamlet, furred with lamb.
- A russet satin doublet.
- A beaver hat.

She is also charged with—

- A cloak of tawny-figured velvet lined with tawny shag. — To be delivered to Curle's wife.
- A white satin doublet. — To be delivered to Curle's wife.
- A kirtle of white satin. — For Curle's child.
- A doublet of white satin. — For Curle's child.

Renee Rallay al Beauregard.
- A black velvet gown, edged about with ermines.
- A gown of black cypress.
- A petticoat of red satin.
- A kirtle of white satin.
- A doublet of tawny satin.
- A black velvet hat set with small bugles.

Gillies Mowbray.	A plain black velvet gown. A gown of cypress. A kirtle of tawny taffeta. A cloak with skirts to the same. A velvet hat.
Mary Page.	A black velvet gown, embroidered and laid about with pearls. A petticoat of carnation silk duramen wrought and laid on with silver and blue silk. A petticoat of scarlet, laid on with blue silk. A black satin doublet. A russet satin doublet. A cloak of booting cloth, black. A taffeta hat set with small bugles. She is also charged with— A white satin doublet for her mother, and with a suit of Savage attire for her father.
Susan Kirkaldy.	A gown of black taffeta.

LINEN.

In the custody of— Jane Kennedy: to be distributed, as appeareth under her mistress' sign, to the rest of her fellows at her discretion.	Eight pairs of sheets which served for the said queen's own bed. Twelve pillowbers. Five dozen of smocks. Divers handkerchiefs, some wrought, some plain. Towels. Bands and falls. Coifs. Veils of black and white cypress. Night rails. Waistcoats. All her other pieces of common linen.

FURNITURE FOR BEDDING.

In the custody of— Rallay al Beauregard.	Furniture for a bed of black velvet, garnished with blue lace, not yet finished.
Jane Kennedy.	Furniture for a bed of network and holland intermixed, not half finished.

Lawder.	Furniture for a field bed of blue and red damask.
Percy.	Furniture for a bed of old purple velvet, embroidered with cloth of silver and flowers, with curtains of purple damask, and a covering of serge furred with fox. A white Irish mantle. A quilt of taffeta.
Symon.	Two old canopies for a bed.
Morton.	A bed and two coverings.

OTHER GOODS AND NECESSARIES.

In the custody of—	
Melville.	A pair of perfumed gloves. A watch.
The Physician.	A cloak and a watch. Two globes, the one of heaven, the other of earth. A little coffer with drawers and tills, garnished.
The Apothecary.	All her confitures, succats, preserves, conserves, and other medicinable drugs. Two little cushionettes, embroidered.
The Surgeon.	Two lutes, and two lute-books covered with velvet. A piece of red broad cloth used about her bed.
Symon.	The chair wherein she was wont to be carried, covered with velvet.
Morton.	Ten or twelve pieces of broken tapestry. Certain cloth bought at Chartley for her intended Maundye. A saddle-cloth of red velvet.
Jane Kennedy.	Two looking-glasses. All her gloves.
Elizabeth Curle.	Two looking-glasses. Two great watches and a little one.

Gillies Mowbray. { Two pairs of virginals. A citheren. A velvet saddle.

Rallay al Beauregard. } Sewing silk and raw silk of all colours.

There remaineth in the said late queen's cabinet and other places a great number of books, drinking-glasses, and other small things not mentioned in this inventory, which are also claimed by the several servants as given to them by their mistress.

The Copy of a Bill exhibited by Mr. Melville and the Physician signed by the Queen, and containing as followeth :—

A gown of black velvet, all set with pearl and garnished with buttons of pearl.
A cloak of figured velvet, garnished with the fur of lysards.
A kirtle of printed satin, white.
A doublet of printed satin, white.
A velvet cloak lined with black shag.
A piece of cloth of gold.
Six valences for a bed, of crimson satin, with the head and curtains to the same.
Six pieces of tapestry, containing the history of Ravenna.
Six pieces of tapestry, containing the history of Meleager.
A cloth of state of brown crimson velvet, embroidered with a single true-love knot.
A cloth of state of violet-coloured velvet and cloth of gold intermixed, with a single valence.
A cloth of state of silver gilt.
A valence striped with silver.
The coach and all her horses.

All which parcels, as is affirmed, were appointed by the queen to be sold by Melville and the physician, and the money thereof to be employed towards the expenses of the whole company in their journey homewards.

[Endorsed :] The Inventory of the Jewels, Plate, and other Goods of the Queen of Scots.

February 25, 1586.

THE CASKET LETTERS.

Letter I.

It seemyth that with your absence forgetfulness is joynid consydering that at your departure you promised me to send me newes from you. Nevertheless I can learn none. And yet did I yesterday looke for that that shuld make me meryer than I shall be. I think you doo the lyke for your return, prolonging it more than you have promised.

As for me, if I hear no other matter of you, according to my commission, I bring the man Monday to Cregmillar, where he shall be upon Wednisday. And I go to Edinborough to be lett blud, if I hear no word to the contrary.

He is the meryest that ever you sawe, and doth remember unto me all that he can, to make me believe that he loveth me. To conclude, you wold say that he maketh love to me, wherein I take so much pleasure, that I have never com in there, but the payne of my syde doth take me. I have it sore today. If Paris doth bring back unto me that for which I have sent, it suld much amend me.

I pray you, send me word from you at large, and what I shall doo if you be not returned, when I shall be there. For if you be not wyse I see assuredly all the wholle burden falleth upon my shoulders. Provide for all and consyder well first of all. I send this present to Ledington to be delivered to you by Beton, who goeth to one day a law of Lord Balfour. I will say no more unto you, but that I pray God send me goode newes of your voyage.

From Glasco this Saturday morning.[1]

[1] This letter is endorsed in the hand of a clerk, "Ane short lettre from Glasco to the Erle of Bothwell; profs her disdayn again her husband." Cecil's mark is added below.

LETTER II.

Being gon from the place, where I had left my harte, it may be easily judged what my countenance was consydering what the body without harte, whilk was cause that till dynner I had used lyttle talk, neyther wold anybody advance himselfe thereunto, thinking that it was not good so to do. ~~venture~~

Four myles from thence a gentleman of the Erle of Lennox cam and made his commendations and excuses unto me, that he cam not to meet me, because he durst not enterprise so to do, considering the sharp words that I had spoken to Conyngham, and that he desired that I wold come to the inquisition of the facts which I did suspect him of. This last was of his own head, without commission, and I told him that he had no receipt against feare, and that he had no fear, if he did not feele himself faulty, and that I had also sharply answered to the doubts that he made in his letters as though there had been a meaning to pursue him. To be short, I have made him hold his peace; for the rest it were too long to tell you. Sir James Hamilton came to meet me, who told me that at another tyme he went his way when he heard of my comming, and that he sent unto him Houstown, to tell him that he wold not have thought, that he wold have followed and accompany himself with the Hamiltons. He answered that he was not come but to see me; and that he would not follow Stuart nor Hamilton, but by my commandment. He prayed him to go speak to him; he refuses it.

The Lord Luce, Houstoun and the sonne of Caldwell, and about XLty horse came to meet me that he was sent to one day o' law from the father, which shold be this day against the signing of his own hand, which he has, and that, knowing of my comming, he hath delayed it, and hath prayed him to go see him, which he hath refused and give aith that he will

suffer nothing at his hands. Not one of the town is come to ~~to see me~~ speak with me, which makith me to think that they be his, and he speakith well of them at least his sonne.

The King sent for Joachim and asked him, why I did not lodge nigh to him, and that he wold ryse sooner and why I came, whithir it wear for any good appointment, that he came, and whithir I had not taken Paris and Guilbert to write and that I sent Joseph. I wonder who hath told him so much even of the marriage of Bastian. This bearer shall tell you more upon that. I asket him of his letters and where he did complayn of the cruelty of some of them. He said that he did dreme, and that he was so glad to see me that he thought he should dye. Indeed that he has found fault with me.

I went my way to supp. This bearer shall tell you of my arryving. He praied me to come agayn, which I did : and he told me his grefe, and that he wold make no testament, but leave all unto me and that I was cause of his sickness for the sorrow he had, that I was so strange unto him.[1] And (said

[1] The succeeding portion of the letter corresponds closely with Crawford's declaration, which is here quoted :—"And moreover he saide, Ye asked me what I ment bye the crueltye specified in mye lettres; yat procedethe of yow onelye, that wille not accepte mye offres and repentance. I confesse that I have failed in som thingis, and yet greater faultes have bin made to yow sundrye times, which ye have forgiven. I am but yonge, and ye will saye ye have forgivne me diverse tymes. Maye not a man of mye age, for lack of counselle, of which I am verye destitute, falle twise or thrise, and yet repent, and be chastised bye experience ? Gif I have made anye faile that ye but thinkie a faile, howe soever it be, I crave your pardone, and proteste that I shall never faile againe. I desire no other thinge but that we maye be together as husband and wife. And if ye will not consent hereto, I desire never to rise forthe of this bed. Therefore, I praye yow, give me an aunswer hereunto. God knoweth howe I am punished for making mye god of yow, and for having no other thought but on yow. And if at anie tyme I offend yow, ye are the cause ; for that when aine offendethe me, if for my refuge I might open mye minde to yow, I woulde speake to no other ; but when

he) you asked what I ment in my letter to speak of cruelty. It was of your cruelty who will not accept my offres and repentance. I avow that I have dane amisse, but not that I have always disavoued ; and so have many othir of your subjects don and you have well pardoned them.

I am young.

You will say that you have pardoned me many times and that I returne to my fault. May not a man of my age for want of counsel, faylle twise or thrise and mysse of promis and at the last repent and rebuke himself by his experience ? If I may obtayn this pardon I protest I will not make fault agayn. And I ask nothing but that we may be at bed and table together as husband and wife ; and if you will not I will never rise from this bed. I pray you tell me your resolution hereof. God knoweth that I am punished to have made my God of you and had no other mynd but of you. And when I offend you sometime, you are cause thereof: for if I thought, when anybody doth any wrong to me, that I might for my resource make my moan thereof unto you, I wold open it to no other, but when I heare anything being not familiar with you, I must ~~maketh me out of my wit~~ keep it in my mynd and that troublith my wits.

I did still answer him but that I shall be too long. In the end I asked him whether he would go in the English shipp. He doth disavow it and swerith so, and confessith to have spoken to the men. Afterwards I asked him of the inquisition of Hiegate. He denyed it till I told him the very words, and then he said that Minto sent him word that it was said, that som of the counsyle had brought me a letter to signe to putt him in prison, and to kill him if he did resist and that he asked this of Minto himself, who said unto him that he thought it

anie thinge is spoken to me, and ye and I not beinge as husband and wife ought to be, necessitie compelleth me to kepe it in my brest, and bringethe me in such melancolye as ye see me in. She aunswered, that it semed hym she was sorye for his sicknesse, and she woulde find remedye therefore so sone as she might."

was true. I will talke with him to morrow upon that poynte. The rest as Wille Hiegate hath confessed; but it was the next day that he came hither.

In the end he desyred much that I shuld lodge in his lodging. I have refused it. I have told him that he must be pourged and that could not be don heere. He said unto me "I have heard say that you have brought the lytter, but I wold rather have gon with yourself." I told him that so I wold myself bring him to Craigmillar, that the phisicians and I also might cure him without being farr from my sonn. He said that he was ready when I wold so as I wold assure him of his request.

He hath no desyre to be seen and waxeth angry when I speake to him of Wallcar and saith that he will pluck his ears from his head, and that he lieth; for I asked him before of that, and what cause he had to complayn of the lords and to threaten them. He denyeth it, and saith that he had allready prayed them to think no such matter of him. As for myself he wold rather lose his lyfe than doo me the least displeasure; and then used so many kinds of flatteries so coldly and so wysely as you wold marvayle at. I had forgotten that he sayde that he could not mistrust me for Hiegate's word, for he could not believe, that his own flesh (which was myself) wold doo him any hurte; and indeed it was sayd that I refused to have let bludd.[1] But for the others he wold at least sell his lyfe deare ynoughe; but that he did suspect nobody nor wolde, but love all that I did love.

He wold not lett me go, but wold have me to watche with him. I made as though I thought all to be true and that I wold think upon it, and have excused myself from sytting up with him this nyght, for he saith that he sleepith not. You never heard one speake better nor more humbly; and if I had not proof of his hart to be as waxe, and that myne were not as a dyamant, no stroke but comming from your hand could make me but to have pitee of him. But fear not for the place

[1] The translator apparently mistook "signer" for "saigner."

shall continue till death. Remember also, in recompense thereof, not to suffer yourself to be won by that false race that wold do no less to yourself.

I think they have bene at school togither. He hath allwais the tear in the eye. He saluteth every man, even to the meanest, and maketh much of them, that they may take pitie of him. His father hath bled this day at the nose and at the mouth—gess what token that is. I have not seen him; he is in his slumber. The king is so desyrous, that I shuld give him meat with my own hands, but trust you no more there where you are than I doo here.

This is my first journay; I will end it tomorrow. How little consequence so ever it be of, to the end that you may take of the whole that shall be best *for you to judge*.[1] I do here a work that I hate much, *but I had begun it this morning;*[2] had you not lyst to laugh, to see me so trymly make a lie, at the least dissemble, and to mingle truthe therewith. He hath almost told me all on the bishops behalf and of Sunderland, without touching any word unto him of that which you had told me; but only by much flattering him and praying him to assure himself of me, and by my complayning of the bishop, *I have taken the worms out* of his nose.[3] You have heard the rest.

We are tyed to by two false races. The *good yeere*[4] unties us from them. God forgive me and God knytt us togither for ever for the most faythfull couple that ever he did knytt togither. This is my faith; I will dye in it.

Excuse it if I write ill; you must gesse the other halfe I cannot doo with all, for I am yll at ease, and glad to write to you when other people be asleep, seeing that I cannot doo as

[1] On the margin, "for your purpose."

[2] No equivalent in the Scotch version.

[3] Explained on the margin, "I have disclosed all—I have known what I wold." A similar phrase occurs in a genuine letter of Mary, October 5, 1568: "Il m'a voulu tirer les vers du nez et scavoir ma delue" (Labanoff, ii. 213).

[4] In Scotch "devil." French in both instances possibly misread.

they doo, according to my desyre, that is between your arms my dear lyfe whom I beseech God to preserve from all harm, and send you good rest as I go to seek myne, till tomorrow in the morning that I will end my bible. But it greevith me, that it shuld lett me from wryting unto you of newes of myself, ~~long the same.~~

(much I have to write) -

Send me word what you have determined here upon, that we may know the one the others mind for marrying of any thing.

I am weary, and am asleepe, and yet I cannot forbear scribbling so long as there is any paper. Cursed be this pocky fellow that troublith me thus much, for I had a pleasanter matter to discourse unto you but for him. He is not much the worse, but he is yll arrayd.[1] I thought I shuld have been kylled with his breth, for it is worse than your uncle's breth; and yet I was sett no nearer to him than in a chayr by his bolster, and he lyeth at the further syde of the bed.

The message of the Father by the way
The talk of James ~~Hamilton~~ [2] of the ambassador
That the Lard of Luss hath told me of the delay
The questions that he asked of Jochim
Of my state
Of my company
And of the cause of my comming
And of Joseph

The talk that he and I had, and of his desyre to please me, of his repentance, and of the interpretation of his letter

Of Will Hiegate's doing, and of his departure, and of the L. of Livinston.

I had forgotten of the L. of Livingston, that he at supper sayd softly to the lady River that he drank to the persons that I knew I would pledge them. And after supper he said softly to me, I was leaning upon him and warming myself,

[1] French "rescu" misread as "vescu."

[2] Hamilton struck out as printed.

"You may well go and see sick folk, yet can you not be so welcome unto them as you have this day left somebody in payne who shall never be merry until he have seen you again." I asked him who it was; he took me about the body and said "One of his folke that has left you this day." Gesse you the rest.

This day I have wrought till two of the clock upon this bracelet, to putt the key in the clifte of it, which is tyed with two laces. I have had so little tyme that it is very yll, but I will make a fayrer; and in the meane tyme take heed that none of those that be heere doo see it, for all the world wold know it, for I have made it in haste in theyr presence.

I go to my tedious talk. You make me dissemble so much that I am afrayd thereof with horrour, and you make me almost play the part of a traytor. Remember that if it weare not for obeying you I had rather be dead. My heart bleedeth for yt. To be short, he will not com but with condition that I shall promise to be with him as heretofore at bed and bord, and that I shall forsake him no more; and upon my word he will doo whatever I will and will com, but he hath prayed me to tarry till after to morrow.

He hath spoken at the fyrst more stoutly, as this bearer shall tell you upon the matter of the Inglishman and of his departure; but in the end he cometh to his gentleness agayn.

He hath told me, among other talk, that he knew well, that my brother hath told me at Stirling that which he had said there, whereof he denyed the half, and specially that he was in his slumber. But to make him trust me I must fayne something unto him; and therefore when he desyred me to promise that when he shuld be whole we shuld make but one bed I told him fayning to believe his faire promises, that if he did not change his mynd between this and that, I was contented, so as he wold say nothing therof; for (to tell it between us two) the lordis wished no yll to him, but did feare lest, consydering the threatening which he made in case we did agree

together, he wold make them feel the small accompte they have made of him ; and that he wold persuade me to poursue some of them, and for this respecte shuld be in jealously if as bye ~~by and by~~ and bye in one instance, without their knowledge, I did break a game made to the contrary in their presence.

And he said unto me very pleasant and merry "Think you that they doo the more esteem you therefore? But I am glad that you talked to me of the lords. I hope that you desyre now that we shall lyve a happy lyfe ; for if it weare otherwise, it could not be but greater inconvenience shuld happen to us both than you think. But I will doo now whatsoever you will have me do. And will love all those that you shall love and so you make them to love me also. For so as they seek not my lyfe, I love them all equally." Thereupon I have willed this bearer to tell you many pretty things ; for I have too much to write, and it is late, and I trust him upon your word. To be short, he will go anywhere upon my word.

Alas! and I never deceived any body ; but I remitt myself wholly to your will ; and send me word what I shall doo, and whatsoever happen to me, I will obey you. Think yf you will not fynd some invention more secret by phisick, for he is to take physick at Cragmillar and the bathes also, and shall not com fourth of long tyme.

To be short, for that that I can learn ye hath great suspicion, and yet, nevertheless trusteth upon my word, but not to tell me as yet anything ; howbeit, if you will that I shall avow him, I will know all of him ; but I shall never be willing to beguile one that puttith his trust in me. Nevertheless you may doo all, and doo not estyme me the less therefore, for you are the cause thereof. For, for my own revenge I wold not doo it.

He givith me certain charges, and these strong, of that that I fear even to say that his faults be published, but there be that committ some secret faults and fear not to have them spoken of so lowdely, and there is speech of great and small.

And even touching the Lady Reres, he said "God grant, that she serve you to your honour," and that men may not think, nor he neyther, that myne own power was not in myself, seeing I did refuse his offers. To conclude, for a suerety, he mistrustith us of that that you know, and for his lyfe. But in the end, after I had spoken two or three good words to him, he was very merry and glad.

I have not seen him this night for sending your bracelet, but I can fynd no reason for yt; it is ready thereunto, and yet I fear lest it shuld bring you yll hap, or that it shuld be known if you were hurt. Send me word, whether you will have it and more monney, and when I shall return, and how farr I may speak. Now so farr as I perceive *I may doo much without you*;[1] guesse you whithir I shall not be suspected. As for the rest, he is mad when he hears of Ledinton, and of you. Of your brother he sayeth nothing, but of the Earl of Arguile he doth; I am afraid of him to heare him talk, at the least he assurit himself that he hath no yll opinion of him. He speaketh nothing of these abrode, nither good nor yll, but avoidit speaking of him. His father keepith his chambre; I have not seen him.

All the Hamiltons be here who accompany me very honestly. All the friends of the others doo come allwais, when I go to visitt him. He hath sent to me and prayeth me to see him rise to morrow in the morning early. To be short this bearer shall declare unto you the rest; and if I shall learne anything, I will make every night a memoriall thereof. He shall tell you the cause of my stay. Burn this letter, for it is too dangerous, neither is there anything well said in it, for I think upon nothing but upon grief if you be at Edinburgh.

Now if to please you, my deere lyfe, I spare neither honor, conscience, nor hazard, nor greatness, take it in good part, and not according to the interpretation of your false brother-in-law,

[1] The French original is added in the margin in Cecil's hand, "J'ay bien la vogue avec vous."

to whom I pray you, give no credit against the most faythfull lover that ever you had or shall have.

See not also her whose fayned tears you ought not more to regard than the true travail which I endure to deserve her place, for obtayning of which, against my own nature, I doo betray those that could lett me. God forgive me and give you, my only friend, the good luck and prosperite that your humble and faythfull lover doth wisshe unto you, who hopith shortly to be another thing unto you, for the reward of my paynes.

I have not made one word, and it is very late, although I shuld never be weary in wryting to you, yet will I end, after kissing of your hand. Excuse my evill wryting, and read it over twise. Excuse also that I scribbled, for I had yesternight no paper when took the paper of a memorial. Pray remember your friend, and wryte unto her and often. Love me allwais.[1]

Letter III.

My Lord, gif the displesure of zour absence, of zour forzetfulness, ye feir of danger sa promisit be everie ane to zour sa luifit persone, may gif me consalatioun, I leif it to zow to juge, seing the unhap that my cruell lot and continuall misadventure hes hitherto promysit me, following ye misfortunes, and feiris as weill of lait, as of ane lang tyme bypast, the quhilk ze do knaw. Bot for all that, I will in na wise accuse zow, nouther of zour lytill remembrance, nouther of zour lytill cair, and

[1] The directions for the bearer are not given in the English version. The English version is endorsed on the back : "The long lettre written from Glasgow from the Q. of Scotis to the Erle Bothwell." Under this is written in Cecil's hand, "english," with the marks

leist of all of zour promeis brokin, or of ye cauldnes of zour wryting, sen I am ellis sa far maid zouris, yat yat quhilk pleisis zow is acceptabill to me; and my thochtis ar sa willingly subdewit unto zouris, that I suppois yat all that cummis of zow proceidis not be ony of the causis foirsaid, but rather for sic as be just and ressonabill, and sic as I desyre myself. Quhilk is the fynal order that ze promysit to tak for the suretie and honorabil service of ye only uphald of my lyfe. For quhilk alone I will preserve the same, and without the quhilk I desyre not but suddane deith. And to testifie unto zow how lawly I submit me under zour commdementis, I have send zow, in signe of homage, be Paris, the ornament of the heid, quhilk is the chief gude of the uther memberis, inferring thairby that, be ye seising of zow in the possessioun of the spoile of that quhilk is principall, the remnant cannot be bot subject unto zow, and with consenting of the hart. In place quhairof, sen I have ellis left it unto zow, I send unto zow ane sepulture of hard stane, colourit with blak, sawin with teiris and bones. The stane I compare to my hart, that as it is carvit in ane sure sepulture or harbour of zour commandementis, and aboue all, of zour name and memorie that ar thairin inclosit, as is my hear in this ring, never to cum forth, quhill deith grant unto yow to ane trophee of victorie of my banes, as the ring is fullit, in signe that yow haif maid ane full conqueis of me, of myne hart, and unto yat banes my banes be left unto yow in remembrance of your victorie and my acceptabill lufe and willing, for to be better bestowit then I merite. The ameling that is about is blak, quhilk signifyis the steidfastnes of hir that sendis the same. The teiris ar without number, sa ar the dreddouris to displeis yow, the teiris of your absence, the disdane that I cannot be in outwart effect youris, as I am without fenzeitnes of hart and spreit, and of gude ressoun, thocht my meritis wer mekle greiter then of the maist profite that ever was, and sic as I desyre to be, and sall tak pane in conditiounis to imitate, for to be bestowit worthylie under your regiment. My only wealth, ressaif thairfoir in als gude part ye same, as I have

ressavit your marriage with extreme joy, the quhilk sall not part furth of my bosum, quhill yat mariage of our bodyis be maid in publict, as signe of all that I outher hope or desyris of blis in yis warld. Zit my hart feiring to displeis you as mekle in the reiding heirof, as I delite me in ye writing, I will mak end, efter that I have kissit zour handis with als greit affectioun as, I pray God (O ye only uphald of my lyfe) to gif yow lang and blissit lyfe, and to me zour gude favour, as the only gude yat I desyre, and to ye quhilk I pretend. I have schawin unto this beirer that quhilk I have leirnit, to quhome I remit me, knawand the credite that ze gaif him, as scho dois that will be for ever unto zow humbill and obedient lauchful wyfe, that for ever dedicates unto zow hir hart, hir body, without ony change, as unto him that I have made possessour of hart, of quhilk se may hald zow assurit, yat unto ye deith sall na wayis be changeit, for evill nor gude sall never mak me go from it.

Letter IV.

I have watched later ~~then~~ there above than I wold haue don, if it had not bene to draw out that that this bearer shall tell you, that I fynde the fayrest commoditie to excuse yo^{r} busynes that might be offred : I have promised him to ~~p~~ bring him to morrowe. Yf you think, it give ordre thereunto. Now S^{r} I have not yet broken my promes w^{t} you for not you had commanded me ~~nothing And~~ to send you any thing or to write and I doo it not, for offending of you. And if you knew the feare that I am in therof, you wold not have so many contrary suspiciõs, w^{ch} nev^{r}theless I cherishe as proceeding from the thing of this worlde that I desyre and seeke the moste, that is y^{r} favo^{r}, or good will, of w^{ch} my behaviour shall assure me, And I will nev^{r} dispayre thereof as long as yo^{r} according to ~~my~~ promes you~~w~~ shall discharge yo^{r} harte to me, Otherwise I wold think that my yll luck, and the fayre

behavio^{r} of those that have not the thirde parte of the faythfulnes and voluntary obedience that I beare unto you, shall have wonne the advantage ov^{r} me ~~the advantage~~ of the second Loover of Jason. Not that I doo compare you to so wicked ~~a person,~~ or myself to so unpitifull a person, Althoughe you make me feele some greefe in a matter that toucheth you, and to preserve & keepe you to her whō alone you belong, if a body may clayme to him selfe that w^{ch} is wōn by——[1] well, faythfully, yea entirely loving, as I doo, & will doo all my lyfe for payne or hurt what soev^{r} may happen to me thereby. In recompence whereof, and of all the evils that you bene cause of to me, Remember the place ~~nighe~~ hereby. I desyre not that you keepe promes w^{t} me to morrowe, but that we may be togither, and that you give no credit to the suspicions that you shall have, w^{t}out being assured thereof. And I aske no more of God but that you might know all that I have in my harte, w^{ch} is yours and that he preserve you frō all evill, at the leist during my lyfe, w^{ch} shall not be deere unto me, but as long as y^{t} & I shall please you. I go to bed, and give you good night. Send me word tomorrow early in the morning how you have don for I shall thing long. And watche well if the byrde shall fly out of his make cage or w^{t}out his ~~father~~ as the turtle shall remayne alone to lament & morne for absence how short soev^{r} it be. That that I could not doo my lr̃e shuld doo it w^{t} a good will, yf it weare not that I feare to wake you, for I durst not write before Joseph & Bastian & Joachim, who weare but new gon from I begõn.

Letter V.

My hart alace! must the follow of ane woman quhais unthankfuness toward me ze do sufficiently knaw be occasion of displesure unto zow, considering yat I culd have remidit thairunto without knawing it? And sen that I persavit it, I culd not tell it zow, for that I knew not how to governe myself thairin; For nouther in that, nor in any uther thing, will

[1] Illegible word struck out.

I tak upon me to do ony thing without knawledge of zour will, quhilk I beseik zow let me understand ; for I will follow it all my lyfe, mair willingly than zow sall declair it to me ; and gif ze do not send me word this nicht quhat ze will that I sall do, I will red myself of it, and hazard to caus it to be interprysit and takin in hand, quhilk micht be hurtfull to that quhairunto baith we do tend. And quhen scho sall be maryit I beseik zow give me ane, or ellis I will tak sic as sall content zow for their conditiounis ; bot as for thair toungis or faithfulness towart you I will not answer. I beseik zow yat ane opinioun of uther persoun be not hurtfull in your mynde to my constancie. Mistrust me ; but quhen I will put zow out of dout, and cleir myselfe, refuse it not, my deir lufe, and suffer me to mak zow sum prufe be my obedience, my faithfulness constancie, and voluntarie subjectioun, quhilk I tak for the plesandest gude that I micht ressaif, gif ze will accept it ; and mak na ceremonie at it, for ze culd do me na greiter outrage, nor give mair mortall greif.

Letter VI.

Alas my Lorde, why is yo^{r} trust putt in a pson so unworthy to mistrust that w^{ch} is wholly yours ! I am wood. You had promised me that you wold resolve all, And that you wold send me worde every daye what I shuld do. You have don nothing thereof. I advertised you well to take heed of yor falce brother in lawe. He cam to me and w^{t}out shewing me any thing from you told me that you had willed him to write to you that that I ~~ш~~ shuld saye, and where and whan you should com to me, and that that you shuld doo touching him. And therupon hath preached unto me that is was a foolish enterprise and that w^{t} myn hono^{r} I could nev^{r} marry you seing that ~~ye~~ being maryed you did carry me away. And that his folk wold not suffer yt. And that the Lords wold unsaye themselves

and wold deny that they had said. To be shorte he is all contrary. I told him that seing I was com so farre, if you did not w^t^drawe yo^r^selfe of yo^r^self that no psuasion nor death it selfe shuld make me fayle of my promesse. As touching the place you are to negligent (pdon me) to remitt yo^r^self thereof unto me. Choose it yo^r^selfe and send me word of it. And in the mean tyme I am sicke. I will differ as touching the matter it is to late. It was not long of me that you have not thought thereupon in tyme. And if you had not more changed yo^r^ mynde since myne absence than I have, you shuld not be now to aske such resolving. Well ther wantith nothing of my pte. And seeing that yo^r^ negligence doth putt us both in y^e^ danger of a false brother, if it succeede not well, I will nev^r^ rise agayne. I send this bearer unto you for I dare not trust yo^r^ broth^r^ w^t^ these lr̃es nor w^t^ the diligence. He shall tell you in what state I am, and judge you what amendement these new ceremonies have brought unto me. I wold I weare dead. For I see all goith yll. You promised other manner of matter of your forseing, but absence hath powre ov^r^ you, who ~~hath~~ have ij strings to yo^r^ bowe. Dispatche the annsweare that I fail you not. And put no trust in yo^r^ broth^r^ for this enterprise. For he hath told yt, and is all against it. God give you good night.

Letter VII.

Of the place and ye tyme I remit my self to zour brother and to zow. I will follow him, and will faill in nathing of my part. He findis mony difficulties. I think he dois advertise zow thairof, and quhat he desyris for the handling of himself. As for the handling of myself, I hard it ains weill devysit.

Methinkis that zour services, and the lang amitie, having ye gude will of ye Lordis, do weill deserve ane pardoun, gif aboue the dewtie of ane subject yow advance yourself, not to constrane me, bot to assure yourself of sic place neir unto me, that uther admonitiounis or forane perswasiounis may not let

me from consenting to that that ye hope your service sall mak yow ane day to attene. And to be schort, to mak yourself sure of the Lordis, and fré to mary; and that ye are constraint for your suretie, and to be abill to serve me faithfully, to use ane humbil requiest joynit to ane importune actioun.

And to be schort, excuse yourself, and perswade thame the maist ye can, yat ye ar constraint to mak persute aganis zour enemies. Ze sall say eneuch, gif the mater or ground do lyke yow; and mony faire wordis to Lethingtoun. Gif ye lyke not the deid, send me word, and leif not the blame of all unto me.

Letter VIII.

My Lord, sen my letter writtin, zour brythér in law yat was, come to me verray sad, and hes askit me my counsel, quhat he shuld do efter to morne, becaus thair be mony folkis heir, and amang utheris the Erle of Sudderland, quha wold rather die, considdering the gude thay have sa laitlie ressavit of me, than suffer me to be caryit away, thay conducting me; and that he feirit thair shuld sum troubil happin of it: Of the uther syde, that it suld be said that he wer unthankfull to have betrayit me. I tald him, that he suld have resolvit with zow upon all that, and that he suld avoyde, gif he culd, thay that wer maist mistraistit.

He hes resolvit to wryte to zow be my opinioun; for he hes abaschit me to sé him sa unresolvit at the neid. I assure myself he will play the part of an honest man: But I have thocht gude to advertise zow of the feir he hes yat he suld be chargeit and accusit of tressoun to ye end yat, without mistraisting him, ze may be the mair circumspect, and that ye may have ye mair power. For we had zisterday mair than iii. c. hors of his and of Levingstounis. For the honour of God, be accompanyit rather with mair then les; for that is the principal of my cair.

I go to write my dispatche, and pray God to send us ane happy enterview schortly. I wryte in haist, to the end ye may be advysit in tyme.

QUEEN MARY'S HOUSEHOLD.

To keep down expense Elizabeth, who grudged everything paid on behalf of the Queen of Scots, reduced Mary's household without consulting her, and instructed Shrewsbury accordingly. Under the new arrangement, we find in the State Paper Office the names of the attendants (and their offices) who are to remain with the Queen of Scots. The list is interesting to all who follow the narrative.

May 4, 1571, Sheffield.

Lady Livingstone, dame of honour to the queen.
Miss Seton, that "coiffes" the queen.
Miss Livingstone, *Miss Bruce*, } gentlewomen of the chamber.
Miss Courcelles, *Miss Kennedy*, } maids of the chamber.
Lord Livingstone.
Mr. Beton, master of the household.
Mr. Livingstone, gentleman servant.
Mr. Castel, physician.
Mr. Raulet, secretary.
Bastian Page, groom of the chamber.
Balthazar Ruilly, master of the wardrobe.
James Lawder, groom and musician in the chamber.
Gilbert Curle, groom of the chamber.
William Douglas, groom of the chamber.
Archibald Beton, huissier of the chamber.
Thomas Archibald, huissier who goes before the queen's meat and serves, and is the master of the household.
Jacques de Senlis, groom of the wardrobe and tailor.

William Black, who serves in the absence of Florent the "tapissier."
Dedier Chiffland, butler.
Gwyon Loyselon, master of the pantry.
Andrew Macheson, help to the butler, and master of the pantry, and to serve Secretary Raulet.
Estienne Hanet, master cook.
Martin Huet, foreman in the kitchen.
Pierre Medart, potagière.
John Ruboys, patissier.
Mr. Bruce, servant to Lord Livingstone.
Nicol Fisher, servant to Lady Livingstone.
John Dufries, servant to Miss Seton.

Permitted of my Lord's Benevolence.

Christian Hogg, Bastian's wife.
Oles Bog, the master cook's wife.
Christian Graham, Lady Livingstone's gentlewoman.
Janet Spittel.
Robert Hanneton, to bear fire and water in the queen's kitchen.
François, to serve Mr. Castel, the physician.
Robert Liddell, the queen's lacquey.
Gilbert Bonner, horsekeeper.

A NOTE OF THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY'S CHARGES FOR SOLDIERS.

Dec. 1, 1569.

Soldiers retained by the Earl of Shrewsbury over and above the queen majesty's allowance and her own ordinary household.

Persons from the 20th of September last until the 1st of December. And paid by him after the rate of 8*d.* per day.

	£	s.	d.
For 100 soldiers from the 20th day of September to the 1st of December, being 71 days, after the rate of 8*d.* by day for a man.	256	13	4

Besides allowance for coats.[1]

[This is another "eye-opener" into the character of Elizabeth, and indicates her dishonesty in compelling Shrewsbury to maintain a military establishment, and yet refusing to pay for it. Shrewsbury was a man of economy, and he knew how difficult it was to get money from Elizabeth on Mary's behalf, though she was lavish in expending money to maintain Moray and the insurrection. Her allowance to Shrewsbury was wholly inadequate, and this out-of-pocket sum in 10 weeks was a large sum in those days.]

[1] State Paper Office.

MEMORANDUM OF EXPENSES INCURRED BY THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY IN THE CUSTODY OF THE QUEEN OF SCOTS SINCE HER FIRST ARRIVAL AT TUTBURY.

February 12, 1570.

The Queen of Scots came to Tutbury to the Earl of Shrewsbury on the 27th day of January, 1568. From which day until the 10th of February last is 54 weeks. Which at the rate of £52 every week doth amount to £2808. Whereof the said earl hath received in all £2500 towards the said sum of £2808. So remaineth due to him the said 10th day of February last £308.

Item: the Earl of Shrewsbury received more upon the last privy seal, for soldiers' wage and coat money the sum of £256 13*s.* 4*d.*

AN ACCOUNT OF PLATE, BEDDING, &c., NECESSARY FOR QUEEN MARY'S ACCOMMODATION ON HER REMOVAL TO TUTBURY.[1]

Kitchen Plate.

Silver plates, 10.
Silver dishes, 10.
Silver saucers, 12.

Cupboard Plate.

Silver flagons, 2.
Silver cups, 2.
Silver bowl, 1 little one.
Silver basin and ewer, 1.

Chamber Hangings.

Chambers hanged for herself only—the great chamber, her bed-chamber, and the chamber between for her grooms. } 3.

My Lady Livingstone's chamber is also hanged, and Miss Seton's chamber. } 2.

Bedding.

In the queen's chamber, 2 beds.
In her grooms' chamber, 2 beds.
In Lady Livingstone's chamber, 2 beds for her and her maids.
In Miss Seton's chamber 2 beds for her and her maids. } 8.

[1] State Paper Office.

Also the master of the stables' wife, the master cook's wife, the clerk of the kitchen's wife, and Bastian's wife lie now within the house. They shall be warned aforehand that they shall have no lodging at Tutbury, peradventure they will return into Scotland. The two physicians also lie now within the house, also the master of the household.

RELICS OF QUEEN MARY.

The following is an incomplete list of relics, with the names of the holders.

Her late Majesty Queen Victoria—

Lock of Queen Mary's hair, also Queen Mary's cabinet.

Miss Elizabeth Leslie Melville Cartwright—

Key found in Lochleven, inscribed "Mary Rex."

Mary Adeliza Manners—

Watch which belonged to Queen Mary.

Hon. Mrs. Maxwell Scott—

Gold enamel crucifix of Mary.

Queen Mary's seal engraved with "M. R." and the British Lion.

Quaigh from Queen Mary's Yew.

Miss Rosalind B. C. C. de M. Howell—

Heart-shaped locket of rock crystal, mounted in silver, with portrait of Mary, enclosing a plait of her hair, 19th of August, 1561.

Mrs. A. Dick Cunyngham—

Diamond ring known as the Mary Queen of Scots' ring.

Miss Forde—

Gold ring, said to have been given by Darnley to Mary as nuptial ring.

Miss Singleton—

Silver gilt medallion, Francis and Mary.

Duke of Norfolk—

Gold rosary with crucifix.

Necklace of Queen Mary.

Lord Balfour of Burleigh—

Ciborum and cover, copper gilt, given by Mary to Sir James Balfour.

Queen Mary's hand bell, silver gilt.

Covered tankard of agate, given by Mary to Sir James Balfour.

Bloodstone cameo, in gold-mounted jewelled locket, worn by Mary, and given by her to Sir James Balfour.

Four silver spoons.

Richly ornamental handle of bloodstone for a feather fan.

Sir Henry P. Bedingfield—

Two curtains, counterpane, and valence, worked on a green velvet ground by Mary.

Marquis of Lothian—

Bronze cannon presented to Queen Mary.

Another „ „

Marquis of Ailsa—

Portrait presented by Mary to the Earl of Cassillis (reproduced in this work).

Silver-mounted beads worn by Mary when her portrait was taken.

Rosary of gold-mounted beads with crucifix attached.

The little gold drinking-cup presented to her at five years of age.

Missal or devotional book of her own workmanship. The leaves are of linen cloth, and the words sewn in with her own hands. Black silk thread is used for the text and gold thread for the punctuation. Bound in crimson velvet with her initials in gold on the cover.

Earl of Galloway—

St. Andrew's badge of the Order of the Thistle, worn by Moray at his assassination.

Earl of Haddington—

Reliquary of Queen Mary.

Earl of Aberdeen—

Enamelled pendant given by Mary to Sir Pat Gordon.

Earl Ferrers—

Horse-shoes designed for Mary's escape from Chartley.

Earl of Crawford—

Book of Hours with two autographs.

Earl of Northesk—

Rosary worn by Mary, and given by her to Mary Beton.

Lord Herries—

Book of Hours left at Terregles.

Leading strings of James VI., worked by Mary.

Lord Braye—

Some beads of Queen Mary.

E. V. Harcourt—

Needlework of Mary representing the queen as Justice supplicating a Virgin on behalf of James VI.

Earl of Lauderdale—

Emerald ring given by Mary to Secretary Maitland, inscribed "To Secretary Lethington from Mary Queen of Scots."

Sir John Stirling Maxwell—

Salt-cellar of silver gilt and agate set with garnets.

Sir Thomas B. Hepburn—

Opal mourning ring of Queen Mary.

A tortoise-shell comb : also altar-cloth worked by Mary.

Sir James H. W. Drummond—

Pair of shoes which belonged to Queen Mary, also part of a dress.

Sir Thomas Dick Lauder—

Memento mori timepiece given by Mary to Mary Seton.

Table-cloth : also bodice or jacket, and black gown.

Sir Henry Curwen—

Agate cup, or quaigh, from which Queen Mary drank at Workington Hall, on May 16, 1568, on her flight from Langside.

Brass clock, in form of a church tower, presented by Mary to Sir Henry Curwen.

Lord Lonsdale, Lowther Castle—

The bedstead on which Queen Mary slept at Lowther, July 13, 1568.

Four chairs, covers of which were wrought by Mary and her ladies.

Captain Anstruther Thomson—

Gold watch given by Mary to Marchioness of Hamilton.

Ring with chalcedony portrait of Mary.

Colonel Macpherson of Cluny—

Etui case with silver-mounted fittings.

Stonyhurst College—

Horæ in laudem beatissimi Virginiis Marie ad usam Romanum Lugdani, 1558, said to have been used by her at Fotheringay.

David Seton, Esq.—

Cap worked by Mary, and given by James to Lord Seton.

Trustees of Blairs College—

Psalter, beautifully illuminated, presented by Mary Seton to Mary.

Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem—

Rosary of Queen Mary.

James S. Fraser Tytler—

Gold watch given by Mary to her attendant Massi the day before her execution.

Jewelled solitaire set with diamonds, rubies, and pearls, given by Mary to the Dauphin before marriage.

Sir Robert Cunliffe—

Locket containing a lock of Queen Mary's hair.

W. Murray Thrupland, of Fingash—

Illuminated Book of Hours.

A watch belonging to Mary.

Watch of octagonal form, with key of rock crystal.

Copy of Mary's signet ring.

Miniature spinning-wheel of Queen Mary's mother.

Cuff of one of Darnley's gloves worked by Mary.

W. I. Hay, of Duns—

Silver draught-board of Mary, pieces in silver, presented by her to Mary Seton.

C. Butler, Esq.—

Book of Hours said to have been used by Mary at her execution.

A. J. Rodway, Esq.—

Antique ring with miniature of Queen Mary.

John Sinclair, Esq.—

Sacramental service of four pieces, of silver gilt and embossed patterns, a cruet, chalice, and wafer-box presented to Mary by the French ambassador.

Vereker M. Hamilton, Esq.—

Lock of Queen Mary's hair.

John Malcolm, Esq.—

Limoges enamel tazza of Queen Mary.

James George Morison, Esq.—

Reliquary small ivory box of Queen Mary.

Coatts Trotter, Esq.—

Rug which belonged to Queen Mary.

Duke of Hamilton—

Crown made from the wood of a tree planted by Queen Mary at Toward Castle, on the occasion of her dining with Sir John Lamont on 29th July, 1563.

THE TRIAL SCENE OF QUEEN MARY.

In order to convey an intelligible idea to the reader, benches were placed on each side of the room : those on the right were occupied by the Lord Chancellor Bromley, the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, and the Earls ; on the left the barons and knights of the Privy Council, Sir James Crofts, Sir Christopher Hatton, Sir Francis Walsingham, Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Walter Mildmay, and Sir A. Paulet.

In front of the earls sat the two premier judges and the Baron of Exchequer ; while in front of the barons were placed four other judges and two doctors of civil law.[1]

The table in front of the dais (Nos. 32–44) was occupied by Crown officials, including the attorney-general, the solicitor-general, Gawdy the queen's sergeant, and Barker the notary. A movable barrier with a door divided the room into two parts at the lower end of which were the spectators, and attendants and servants of the lords named.

[1] Hon. Mrs. Maxwell Scott.

TRANSCRIPT OF THE PLATE AT PAGES 254–255, VOL. II.

(FROM THE HISTORICAL MSS. COMMISSION.)

On the right side.	*On the left side.*
The Lord Chancellor.	Lord Abergavenny.
The Lord Treasurer (Burleigh).	Lord Zouche.
Earl of Oxford.	Lord Morley.
Earl of Shrewsbury.	Lord Stafford.
Earl of Kent.	Lord de Gray de Wilton.
Earl of Derby.	Lord Stirton.
Earl of Worcester.	Lord Sands.
Earl of Rutland.	Lord Wentworth.
Earl of Cumberland.	Lord Mordaunt.
Earl of Warwick.	Lord St. John of Bletso.
Earl of Lincoln.	Lord Compton.
Earl of Pembroke.	Lord Chenie.
Viscount Montague.	

James Croft, Controller of the Household.
Mr. Vice-Chamberlain Hatton.
Mr. Secretary Walsingham.
Sir Ralph Sadler.
Sir Walter Mildmay.
Sir Amyas Paulet.

It is not clear that the last six, who were Crown officials, were commissioners. Burgoyne completes the list of commissioners with the following names :—The Archbishop of Canterbury, Earl of Leicester, Lords Winchester, Hunsdon, Cobham, and Lumley, Lord Admiral Howard, and Sir Francis Knollys.

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